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NATURE AND GOD.

There is and ever has been a tendency in man to concentrate his attention on what are called the common objects of experience, on those things, that is, which can be seen and touched, and to regard them only as worthy of consideration and pursuit. It is not wonderful that it is so, for in this world in which we dwell there is much to attract our attention and call forth our admiration. Through every sense there flows in upon us, if we but leave the floodgates open, a constant and ever varying stream of pleasure and of knowledge. The fresh cool breeze, the fragrance of the flowers, the beauty of the grass and the trees, the strength and grandeur of hill and sea, the splendour of sun and moon and stars, all the sights and sounds of nature force themselves in upon us, become a part of our lives, and have much to do with the development of our characters. It is unnecessary to attempt to prove this, each one needs but appeal to his personal experience to see that it is so. A man's home with its varied surroundings, sea or river, mountain or plain, trees, or streets or gardens, the house in which he lives, the clothes he wears, the food he eats, the sounds and voices that he is wont to hear, these things constitute a large, and to most men the most important part of experience. All men are inevitably attracted by these, and most men are

led to regard them as the only things real and practical, and to make their pursuit the object and end of their lives.

When from a practical unconscious enjoyment of nature's gifts, we pass to a study of nature we advance to a higher platform, and are met by new beauty, and filled with new wonder. We observe the changes that take place in the objects by which we are surrounded and find in these order and law; we see that these objects are not isolated and individual, but fall naturally into certain groups, the members of which stand in certain fixed relations to each other: we see that these groups, and the relations which hold within them, are again interconnected by certain fixed relations; and thus gradually we rise to a perception of an all-embracing system of relations, a unity, of which every fact in our sensible experience is a part. Of the magnitude of this system we can form but a faint idea, its wonders we are only beginning to explore; it seems at once to expand into the infinitely great and to lose itself in the infinitely small.

It is not surprising therefore if some of those whose lives have been devoted to the study of physical sciences should, impressed by the magnitude and grandeur of the visible universe, come to regard it as the supreme reality, and to consider matter and its laws the origin and explanation of all things. Those who have adopted this theory, have done so for the most part, somewhat unthinkingly, using, as is so frequent when treating of such subjects, terms, the true significance of which they have not even attempted to ascertain. When we speak of "matter" what do we mean by the term? This is a very important question, but one that few so-called materialists think of asking themselves. This material world, nature, which is regarded as the supreme reality, what is it? When we say, we see, or hear, or touch something, what is it exactly that we are cognizant of? When, to take a common example, we, as we say, *see* a mango, what is actually present to our senses? A round yellow body of a certain size and shape, soft to the touch, and sweet to the taste? By no means; we are not touching the fruit, nor are we tasting it, we are simply seeing it, and all that we are directly conscious of is a coloured expansion of a certain form and size. Similarly when we touch a mango or taste it we are directly conscious of those phenomena only which are the proper objects of these senses. But although this is all that is present to the senses when we see, or touch, or taste a mango, it is by no means all that is present in our consciousness, else the true expression of our experi-

ence would be I see a colour, I feel resistance, I taste sweetness, not I see, or touch or taste a mango. There is a great deal suggested to our mind that is not actually present to the senses. In our past experience we have found that a certain arrangement of colour is accompanied by a certain tangible form, that in this present case, the particular arrangement of colour and shape regularly occur in connection with a certain sensation of resistance which we call softness and a certain kind of taste which we call sweetness. So regular has this connection been that the phenomena of colour, form, resistance and taste have become inseparably associated so that it is impossible for us to experience one without having the others suggested to us at the same instant. What we call a mango, what we call sensible things, are thus in reality groups of phenomena bound together in certain fixed relations. These relations are fixed and permanent, and this it is that constitutes one of the main differences between "things" and our thoughts and feelings regarding them, but the phenomena themselves, what we see, and hear, and taste, and touch, they have no permanence. By their very nature they are in a state of perpetual change, in the same moment appearing and passing away, so that it is impossible, as some of the old Greek philosophers have taught us, even to say that they are, for as they rise they vanish. Look, for example, to take a very noticeable illustration, at the sky at evening time, just after the sun has set. Along the horizon is a band of fiery red, above, a line of dark clouds which still glow like a furnace under the touch of the sun; higher still is the pale primrose or lemon hue shading away by imperceptible degrees into a delicate blue, and dashed with light crimson-tipped clouds; above all is the clear deep blue sky. Look for a few moments and you become conscious of a gradual change stealing over the scene, the glowing red pales away into a sober buff; the dark clouds grow darker and the bright ones lose their golden glory; and slowly the whole scene empties itself of its warmth and light and becomes cold and grey and sombre. When you look upon such a scene you are conscious of two things, first that what you see is ever changing, is never for a moment the same, second, that this change is imperceptible so that you cannot tell when one colour vanishes and another takes its place. Now what is true of this particular case is true of our whole sensible experience. A constant stream of impressions or phenomena is entering into our experience and passing through it. The stream is perpetual, but its waters are never the same; a

phenomenon appears and disappears, and that is the end of it; similar phenomena may follow, but that which has once been can never return. Sense phenomena in fact exist only by being perceived, and cannot occur apart from some conscious experience. Try to imagine a sound that is not being heard, a colour that is not being seen, a taste that is not being tasted, and you will at once see how absurd it is to attempt to attribute to these things an independent existence. Whatever may be true of some unknown world outside of our experience, this at least is true that the world we know, the world of sights, and sounds and other sense phenomena, cannot be said to have any reality in itself; it does not really exist, it appears. It is the great glory of the philosophy of India, that, however much it may have failed to recognise the true significance of the things of sense, it has not failed to recognise their true nature and to see that, wherever reality may be found, it is not to be found in them. "As the play of a juggler is mere semblance, so the spectable of the world is form without substance."

But, as I have already pointed out, while the matter of our sensible experience is perpetually changing, the forms, or relations, or laws, in which, or according to which our experience occurs, are permanent. These laws, again, we saw, hold certain relations to each other, and all are co-ordinated so as to form one great complex system. This age has been marked by the great advance made in the discovery and elucidation of these laws and by the recognition of the fact that all natural laws are but factors in the working out of one great central principle. It is consequently somewhat fashionable at present to regard the laws of nature as the cause of the universe and to explain all things by reference to them. This is a great error, nothing less than confounding the manner of a thing's existence with the cause or reason of its existence. A law of nature is merely a certain recognized regularity; it tells us *how* things occur; it can never be the cause of their occurrence. The law (or as Mr. Spencer calls it "the formula") of evolution may be an expression of the manner in which the various changes take place in the sensible world, but that is all, and when we have learned that we have not taken a single step towards the solution of the questions, what is the cause of these changes? what is the source, the origin of these phenomena? There must be some active cause of this perpetual change, some fountain-head from which flows this constant stream.

After all, it is a very superficial view which regards the universe

merely as an aggregate of visible and tangible phenomena, and rests content with a recognition of the relations which these bear to each other. Men have ever felt this to be so. In all lands and in all ages they have believed that behind the visible lies that which cannot be seen, a hidden power by which all things must be explained. It is the existence of this belief that explains to a great extent, the universal prevalence of religion. Religion has been, and is, one of the most important factors in the history of man; no race or tribe has been found destitute of it, and there is nothing to make us suppose that there ever was a time when man's thoughts did not rise above the mere passing things of sense, and his heart throb with aspirations which reach beyond the finite and the human. In all religions however varied, there is a common element; all are based on a belief in the existence of some invisible and supersensible power. In recognition of this supreme reality, science is at one with religion. Although through the lips of some of her adherents, she seems to deny the existence of God, she yet proclaims in the most distinct and emphatic manner, that in all nature there exists an ever present, ever active power. There is a power which is present in the whole universe, a power from which all things have come; we need not quarrel about names; our duty is seriously and reverently to ask ourselves "what is the nature of this power, and what relation do we and what we call nature, hold to it?" On these questions men are sundered widely as the poles, and hold an almost infinite variety of opinions.

When we look back to the early ages of human history we find an almost universal tendency among men to identify God with the powers of nature, and to regard everything as Divine. With primitive man, as with a child, all things are miraculous, and call forth in his childlike mind, strange feelings of wonder and awe. God is in everything, the light is His garment, the clouds are His chariots, the winds are the breath of His nostrils, the thunder is his voice, the lightnings are bolts hurled from His strong right hand. Much error may have been, and doubtless was, associated with this early expression of man's thoughts of God. The Divine light, from that "sun behind the sun" (of which Plato speaks) in falling upon hearts agitated by sin and fear, may have been broken up into a multitude of uncertain gleams, like the moonlight upon a rippling stream, so that men instead of worshipping the one, worshipped the many, seeing in the different aspects of nature distinct and it might be opposing powers; but the light was Divine, and the men who saw

behind the things that are seen a living personal presence, had, amid all their errors, grasped a truth which many of fuller knowledge and higher powers have missed. Science, by showing the universality of natural law and disclosing the fact that the visible universe is a unity which has been, and is being, slowly developed in accordance with an all-embracing plan, has proved irresistibly that the Power which is manifested in the Universe is One, and has made it impossible for educated men to believe in a multitude of gods. Men may hold utterly false and unworthy opinions of the Divine nature, but they can no longer fail to recognise the Divine unity.

There is still however, and perhaps ever will be, a tendency to a false dualism. The universe is divided into two distinct realms, one of which is called the natural, the other the supernatural and God's action is limited to the latter. The natural world is regarded as a huge machine, created originally it is supposed by God, as any machine is made by a human craftsman, and afterwards left to work out an independent existence according to laws of its own. God is thought of as a being who dwells apart from the world and only enters it occasionally to work a miracle for some special purpose. It has been supposed by many, who are not practically acquainted with its tenets, that Christianity supports this mechanical dualistic theory of the universe. If this were true, I could not wonder if thoughtful and earnest men were repelled by this phase at least of Christian thought, and driven to regard Christianity itself as out of harmony with the dictates of reason. It is however entirely false. Some of the adherents of Christianity may have adopted a mechanical view of nature through the influence of a defective philosophical creed, but there is no foundation whatever for such a theory in the teaching of Jesus Christ and his disciples. Those who charge Christianity with supporting this theory, base their charge, for the most part, on certain passages from the Old Testament writings in which God is likened to a human craftsman or a human monarch, poetical passages, which they in defiance of all the laws of literary criticism, persist in treating as if they were expressed in the language of exact science. A very great service has been rendered to students of sacred literature by one of our leading literary men, Matthew Arnold, by his insisting on the fact, alas too often ignored, that sacred literature is written in the language of poetry not in the language of science. When the book of Genesis says that "God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life," or that well

known hymn, the Purusha-Sùkta, tells us that men were made from the head, and arms and thighs and feet of the Divine Being, we cannot treat either passage as an exact scientific statement of fact. Both, although they differ in many important respects, are poetical or pictorial expressions of the same great truth, that man is a child of the eternal God. Even a comparatively slight acquaintance with the Old Testament, the Jewish Scriptures, shows us that although its inspired writers thought rather of conduct and morals than of nature, they realized most intensely the ever-present life of God and expressed themselves with reference to His working in nature, in language most beautiful and majestic. Take for example one of their songs of praise—(the 104th Psalm):—

> " O Lord my God, thou art very great ;
>   Thou art clothed with honour and majesty.
> Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment ;
>   Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain :
> Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters ;
>   Who maketh the clouds his chariot ;
> Who walketh upon the wings of the wind :
>   Who maketh winds his messengers ;
> His ministers a flaming fire :"

Compare this with the following beautiful lines from one of the hymns of the Rig Veda :—

> " Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
>
> He whose greatness these snowy mountains, whose greatness the sea proclaims, with the distant river. He whose these regions are as it were His two arms; who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
>
> He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm— He through whom the heaven was established—nay, the highest heaven—He who measured out the light in the air; who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?
>
> He to whom heaven and earth standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly—He over whom the rising sun shines forth."

In both of these hymns, there is the same feeling of wonder and awe in the presence of the grandest and mightiest phenomena of nature, and the same recognition of the presence of an ever active God, working in all things. In the New Testament, which contains the teaching of Jesus Christ and His disciples, we find a still loftier conception of the relation of nature to God. This is not enunciated in scientific form or as part of a philosophical system, the writers of the New Testament deal with things higher than either science or philosophy, but it is involved in the whole of the New Testament teaching, and it receives in this passage and in that natural and spontaneous expression. " The things that are visi-

ble," we are told in one passage "are temporal, the things which are invisible are eternal;" in another we read "those things which are invisible of Him, since the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made even His eternal power and divinity." Again "He is not far from every one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being"—and "He is before all things and in Him all things consist," that is "find a substance."

The mechanical view of the universe is a doubly false one, false in that it limits the action of the Infinite one and shuts Him out of the natural world, and false because it treats that which is in reality meaningless, which is nothing apart from Him, as a thing in itself, existing and changing by some inherent power. Nature is and can be nothing in itself, what we see and touch are not substances but shadows, there can be but one substance that in which all things are "held together," through which all things are, and that is God. Viewed in this light Nature receives a new significance, it is not, and yet it is from God and in God. As our English Poet Laureate sings:—

> "The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains,
> Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns?
> Is not the vision He, though He be not that which He seem,
> Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in a dream?"

Everywhere He is, behind the visible, or rather in it, in the earth, and the sun, and the stars, in the trees, and the flowers, and the grass beneath our feet, in every breath we draw, and in every throb our hearts and pulses give. As a Hebrew poet sings:—

> "The heavens declare the glory of God;
> And the firmament showeth His handiwork.
> Day unto day uttereth speech,
> And night unto night showeth knowledge.
> There is no speech nor language;
> Their voice cannot be heard.
> Their line is gone out through all the earth,
> And their words to the end of the world."

The visible world, viewed in itself, and treated as a thing in itself, is a delusion, viewed in its relation to God it is full of deep and wondrous meaning; it is His thought becoming manifested to us, through eye and ear and all the varied senses, in language which all can understand, but the meaning of which none have fully learned. We have no right to say, as some do, that it is impossible

from the visible world to learn aught of the One from whom it proceeds. We arrive at our knowledge of the Divine nature by the very same process as that by which in our daily lives we arrive at a knowledge of our fellow men. How do we get our knowledge of our fellow men? Not by entering into their inner life and sharing in their thoughts—that we cannot do for a thick veil separates each man from all others. However close we may draw together we can never get behind this; it is impenetrable. All our knowledge of our fellow men is derived from outward signs, manifested to our senses. In the form and colours and sounds, and varied sense impressions which make up human bodies, we recognize the presence of spirits akin to our own, and learn what we know of their nature and character. This judgment can hardly be said to be the result of an inference; it is certainly not the conclusion of a conscious logical process; it seems to grow up in us by one of those unconscious processes which lie at the root of so much of our experience, which come, when, and how, we know not. Now just as in the changes which take place in the outward forms of our fellow men we recognize the presence of intelligence and will, so when we look upon the various changes that take place in the universe, at the order and regularity which reign among its phenomena, and the co-ordination of all its laws in one great system, we cannot refuse to recognize in these changes and these laws the presence of reason and will.

It is hopeless to attempt an explanation of the universe from a materialistic standpoint; if we do so we are inevitably compelled either to deny that we have any knowledge of the nature of matter or to attribute to it qualities which are not material but spiritual. It is not an unknowable by which we are surrounded, but a God who is every moment self-revealed. His greatness, it is true, cannot be measured, His being cannot be comprehended, even our own finite being we cannot comprehend, but His presence can be seen and His nature known through His manifestations of them. In nature mind stands face to face with mind; thought meets and interprets thought; the great central idea of Berkeley's philosophy is essentially true, Nature is a picture language through which the Infinite Reason expresses itself to the finite. This is not a logical proof of the existence of God, and cannot be put forward as such; it is by a living process higher than mere logic, that the soul of man comes into contact with the universal soul. Between us and God the world of sense hangs like a veil, half revealing and half concealing His greatness and glory. All things have a significance if we can but

see it; it is no mere poetic fancy but sober truth to which the poetess gives expression when she says:—

> "Earth's crammed with heaven,
> And every common bush afire with God."

It is indeed a wonderful world in which we dwell; we see on all sides beauty and wisdom, of which our art and science are but faint echoes, and we feel that this beauty and this wisdom are themselves but faint symbols of Him who fills all things. We watch in thought the whole vast universe, slowly evolving through countless ages, passing as His thought unfolded from undefined chaos into a system full of life and beauty. We follow where our thought leads us; we trace His working out into infinite space, we seek to follow it back into the eternity of time; we fall back in wonder and awe, overshadowed by His Infinity and filled with the thought that in such a presence we are as nothing.

There is a beautiful illustration given by one of the noblest of philosophers, the Greek Plato. He says, (to give a free rendering of his words) "Behold men living in a great cave, which has its mouth open to the light; they have been there from childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move. Without the mouth of the cave there is a great fire burning and the light from this streaming into the cave falls upon the wall at the back, reflecting upon it the shadows of those who are chained there and of everything that passes in front of the cave. Now the inhabitants of the cave by reason of their being chained are unable to see anything but the wall at the back, and seeing only the shadows upon it, they conclude that these are the true realities and speak of them as such. A day comes when one of the prisoners is released and suddenly compelled to turn his head round and look at the light. At first he is distressed by the glare, and, unable to distinguish things, desires to turn again to the contemplation of shadows. But he is dragged up the steep ascent right into the presence of the sun itself, where his eyes are dazzled and he seems as one blind. But at length he becomes accustomed to the light, and is able to see things as they are and at last to gaze upon the sun himself, who is the cause of all that he has seen. So it is in life, men shut up in the prison of the senses, suppose that appearance is reality and have no eyes for that which truly is. As their eyes are being opened, at first all seems strange, they walk in doubt and uncertainty, they are dazzled by the light. But at length the light enters into their souls, the delusion vanishes, they

see things as they really are, and they know that the source and soul of all things is God."

We are all apt to put God far off from us; we are fools when we seek to do so; our thoughts of Him, our denial of His presence, our doubts of His existence, do not affect the fact; He is not far off; He is here, in all around us, shining through the light, breathing through the air, speaking through all sounds, revealing His strength in the mountains, and oceans, in the sun and the stars; and He is nearer still, He is within us and we are in Him.

W. Howard Campbell.

LETTERS FROM MYSORE, II.

When the Maharajah assumed the reins of Government in 1811 he found a well ordered State, a treasury with an accumulation of more than 200 lakhs of Rupees and a contented country. He was then sixteen years of age, impulsive and fond of pleasure. He conceived the idea of governing absolutely and was only too glad to throw off the yoke of the thrifty minister who had kept his youth in check. Unfortunately there were too many unprincipled persons ready to take advantage of his easy nature. He was soon surrounded by sycophants and courtiers who robbed him and the State right and left. Temptations were thrown in his way to which he yielded only too readily, and amidst the pleasures and excitements of a sensual and voluptuous Court he left the affairs of State in neglect. In less than two years after his accession to power, the whole of the accumulated treasure had been squandered and the Maharajah's life was a career of unbridled dissipation. The author of the report of 1872 thus describes the state of things. "All remonstrances failed to check the Rajah's downward career. High offices of State were sold to the highest bidder while the people were oppressed by the system of *Sharti* which had its origin under Poorneah's regency. *Sharti* was a contract made by the Amildar that he would realize for the Government a certain amount of revenue; that if his collections should fall short of that amount he would make good the deficiency, and that if they exceeded it, the surplus should be paid to the Government. The amount which the Amildar thus engaged to realize was generally an increase on what had been obtained the year preceding. In the muchilka or

agreement, the Amildar usually bound himself not to oppress the ryots, nor impose any new taxes, nor compel the ryots to purchase the Government share of garden produce, but this proviso was merely formal; for any violation of the contractors on any of these points when represented to the Government, was taken no notice of. The consequence was that the ryots became impoverished, the revenues more embarrassed, and the Amildars themselves frequently suffered losses. The distress arising from this state of things and from the neglect of duties incumbent upon Government, fell heavily upon the ryots who groaned under the oppression of every tyrannical Sharti, Fouzdar or Amildar." Under a careful and vigilant minister this system might have worked well, but under a lax and profligate government, like the Rajah's, it could have but one result.

We have seen what that result was in the case of Hyderabad, and in Mysore it was the same. Things went on from bad to worse, and although Sir Thomas Munro, in 1817, paid Mysore a visit, and warned the Rajah of the ruin he was bringing upon himself and the State, it was of no use, for the reckless Prince would listen to no advice. On his return from this visit Sir Thomas Munro, in writing to the Marquis of Hastings on the affairs of India generally, said regarding the Maharajah: "He is indolent and prodigal, and has already, besides the current revenue dissipated about sixty lakhs of pagodas of the treasure laid up by the said Dewan. He is mean, artful, revengeful and cruel. He does not take away life, but he inflicts the most disgraceful and inhuman punishments, on men of every rank, at a distance from his capital, where he thinks it will remain unknown to Europeans; and though young he is already detested by his subjects." But the Supreme Government did not act upon this warning, solemn though it was, and allowed the state of misgovernment to continue for 20 years. The revenues annually decreased until at last the land revenue was less than half what it was during Poorneah's administration, and the whole country was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Rajah himself was deeply in debt, and the debts went on increasing at a frightful rate. The Court lived from hand to mouth, and every opportunity was seized to grind money from the ryots. As an example of this oppression we may mention that when we afterwards assumed the Government we did away with no less than seven hundred and sixty-nine petty items of taxation. "Among these were such whimsical taxes, as those on marriage, on incontinency, on a child being born, on its being given a name, and on its head being shaved. In one

village the inhabitants had to pay a tax because their ancestors had failed to find the stray horse of a Poligar, and any one passing a particular spot in Nagar without keeping his hands close to his side had to pay a tax" (Report of 1872). A picture of this kind should be a warning to some of those rabid reformers of the Seymour Keay stamp, that, when they abuse the British Government for the taxes it has introduced, and state that under Native Governments the people had fewer burdens to bear, they are stating what is not true.

At length the time arrived when the people could bear this oppression no longer, and they broke out into open revolt. This was especially the case in the Nagar division, where several of the Poligars assumed independence, and a pretender was set up as the representative of the old Ikkeri Rajahs who had been dispossessed by Hyder. The Rajah's troops were sent out, and though, when it actually came to fighting, they were generally victorious, they were utterly unable to quell the revolt. The Rajah was at last compelled to admit his inability to restore quiet and asked for the assistance of British troops. This was given to him, and in a short time the rebellion was effectually suppressed. This being done, the Resident was called upon to submit a full report of the state of the country and of the causes which had led to the disturbances. His report showed that the mismanagement of the Rajah had produced grave and widely spread discontent, that the revenues were rapidly falling and that mal-administration was rampant in all departments of the State. The Governor General therefore determined to act upon the fourth and fifth articles of the subsidiary treaty. Formal notice was given to the Rajah and ten days afterwards we took over the reins of Government. This was in 1830, and from that time up to 1879, when the present Maharajah reached his majority the Province of Mysore was under our administration. The Rajah received an ample allowance, (three and a half lakhs of Rupees in addition to one-fifth of the gross revenues), and henceforth took no share in the Government of the country.

At starting it was intended to administer the country entirely by means of native agency, but it was soon found that the whole system was rotten to the very core, and that a radical change was required. At first there were two Commissioners, a senior and a junior, but in this arrangement there was necessarily a good deal of friction and it was soon abandoned. Again, the courts of justice had no power to pass sentence and could do nothing more than pronounce

the offenders "guilty or not guilty." The Rajah had been allowed to retain the power of passing sentence in each case, and as he was too indolent to attend to business, the jails remained for years crowded with prisoners. This of course was also a source of corruption, for men of means had an opportunity of bribing the Rajah's advisers in order to get lenient sentences. The system was accordingly changed; the country was divided into four divisions, at the head of each of which was a Commissioner, and at the head of all was the Chief Commissioner, assisted by a Judicial Commissioner. Throughout the whole Province the higher offices were filled by Europeans and the Government was in every way conducted in the same manner as that of a British Province.

These changes were not completed until 1843 when General Cubbon was appointed the first Chief Commissioner. He had already been the Resident for nearly ten years,—since 1834,—and he continued at the head of affairs until 1861 when he finally retired. For very nearly thirty years he was therefore the administrator of the Province, and to his wise and paternal rule are due the great strides which the country made towards improvement. It has often been stated that a personal or 'patriarchal' form of Government is what is best suited to India. The danger however about this form of Government is, that, when it descends to inferior hands it is so terribly open to abuse. We see the results of this Government under Poorneah and under the Maharajah. General Cubbon's government was for the greater part of the time a personal one, but as time went on a stricter régime was introduced. Under the modern system there is less opportunity for doing good except in one's own department, but there is also far less opportunity for doing harm.

In course of time, under General Cubbon, the whole system was reorganized and the result was a steady increase in the prosperity of the country. On the one hand the revenue increased and on the other the expenditure diminished. The Maharajah had not only exhausted the treasury, but he had also incurred some enormous personal liabilities and these had to be paid off. These debts amounted to no less than Rs. 87,73,261 and the liquidation extended over a period of 25 years. At the end of this time a memoir on the subject of Mysorian finance was submitted to Lord Dalhousie (1856) by whom the results of the revenue administration were summed up in the following words. "During the period of 25 years which has elapsed since Mysore came under the ad-

ministration of British Officers every department has felt the hand of reform. An enormous number of direct taxes have been abolished, relieving the people in direct payment to the extent of $10\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs a year, and doubtless the indirect relief given by this measure has exceeded even the direct relief. Excepting a low tax upon coffee, (which is raised upon public land free of rent or land tax), no new tax appears to have been imposed, and no old tax appears to have been increased. Nevertheless the public revenue has risen from 44 to 82 lakhs of Rupees per annum." From this period the revenue went on steadily increasing until in 1872-73 it reached within a few Rupees of 110 lakhs. During Sir Mark Cubbon's régime there had been a very tight hand kept over the expenditure, and when he retired in 1861 there was a very considerable accumulation of treasure. When he retired, however, a different state of things was introduced. General Cubbon had made large use of native agency, but it was then resolved to re-organize the establishments after the model of British Districts. Indeed they went further, and compared with most of our own provinces, the Mysore Districts were over-officered. New departments were established and were paid on a scale which was considered suited to a State with a yearly increasing revenue and an annually growing surplus. This at all events had the effect of bringing the expenditure more on a level with the income and the cash balances no longer continued to increase.

In 1868 the Maharajah died, leaving only an adopted son, the present Maharajah. This adoption was recognized by the British Government; but the Maharajah being a minor, the Government was continued as heretofore until he should reach his majority. At the same time the opportunity was taken to frame another treaty, under which the Maharajah agreed, when he should assume the reins of Government to pay an increased subsidy of $10\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs annually. There was some show of reason for this because, since under our management the revenues had greatly increased and there was a large balance, it seemed only fair that the Province should pay for the benefits it had received. At the same time, it is to be regretted that this demand should have been made. The amount of subsidy fixed in 1799 is in reality amply sufficient to cover the cost of the military. It is now no longer necessary to have a large force in order to defend the Mysore State against her neighbours. The country is as quiet as a British District, and compared with the amount paid by other native States in the north of India, the subsidy is already far larger in proportion to the

revenues than is paid elsewhere. Besides either the succession of the young Maharajah was legal or it was not. If the adoption was legal he should not have been made to pay for his succession; if it was illegal no payment should have been deemed sufficient to warrant us in countenancing an illegality. It must always be remembered that matters are very different now from what they were fifty years ago. Then the Maharajah had control over the revenues. He took for himself what he chose, and spent the rest on the country. Now the civil list is strictly defined, and he can take neither more nor less than the allotted sum. The extra 10½ lakhs will therefore not come from the Maharajah but from the State, in which progress is already checked because the establishments, framed on a European scale, are so poorly paid that it is difficult to get good men. It is the people of Mysore who have to pay the increased subsidy, and this they cannot afford to do. No doubt the principal reason for demanding the increased subsidy was the fact that there were at the time of the Maharajah's death such large accumulations of revenue amounting to about 40 lakhs of Rupees. There was then an annual surplus of about 8 lakhs of Rupees, and writing in 1872, the author of the Report says: "The State is now free from all liabilities with a steadily increasing income, an ample cash balance and an invested surplus of 40 lakhs. Though the expenditure is large compared with that of former years, when primitive institutions prevailed, and the country was still involved in debt, it represents the cost of a reformed administration on the model of British Institutions." And yet thirteen years after this was written, now that Mysore is again under a Native Government, we hear of nothing but the critical state of her Finances. Not only are her cash balances exhausted but she is in debt to the amount of 80 lakhs of Rupees; her revenues barely exceed her expenditure, and are now about 8 lakhs of Rupees less than they were in 1872, and when, as it was feared only a few months ago, a famine was expected, it seemed as if the State could with difficulty have escaped from bankruptcy.

What can be the reason of this change? There are some who do not hesitate to say that it is due to the change of the Government. Under British administration the country was prosperous, but seven years of native rule have been sufficient to bring it to the verge of bankruptcy. Is this true? In order to find the correct answer, let us look at what has taken place during the last thirteen years. Although the apparent prosperity of the country

was in 1872 so great, it would seem that but little had been done towards the inner improvement. It is true that there had been an immense development of the Department of Public Works, and that a great deal of money had been spent on opening out communications, but compared with what had been done elsewhere, Mysore was in a most backward state. Bangalore was the only city in direct communication with the railway. The western and northern portions of the State were almost inaccessible. A great deal of money had been spent on irrigation works, but at the same time a great many had been allowed to fall into disrepair. Nor can it be said that the works we undertook were always selected with fairness or even judgment. Take for instance the tank upon which seven lakhs of Rupees were spent nominally to supply Bangalore with water, but mainly in order to bring water into the British cantonment and to the European barracks. Not only has the scheme by which we should have mainly benefited, proved an abortive one, but Mysore has been made to pay for it. Again, looking only at the annually accruing surpluses it would seem that we were a little too careless in sanctioning a costly form of Government. It is very easy to raise the pay of an establishment, but very difficult when hard times come to reduce it. One reform which we introduced and which has been found to answer very well in our own territory is of questionable benefit in Mysore, and certainly costs a great deal of money. I refer to the payment of village servants in money instead of land. The result has been, at all events as far as Mysore is concerned, that in a great many cases the land which would otherwise have been cultivated is left waste, whilst the salaries have to be paid from the revenue accruing from other cultivated land. It is a strange thing that both in Hyderabad and in Mysore there is a strong feeling against the wisdom of the policy of paying village servants in money, and in the Dewan's annual speech the year before last he stated that it was under contemplation to return to the former state of things. Another system which in the interests of the Province we should have abolished is the *Amrat Mahal*. The Amrat Mahal cattle are a special breed maintained originally by Hyder and Tippoo for transport of their war material. Upwards of half a million of acres are set apart for the maintenance of these herds and in many villages the very best land is reserved as their grazing ground. As far as State service is concerned, Mysore has no longer any need of large transport trains, but the herds are very useful for recruiting our own baggage animals. For some years the

Amrat Mahal cattle belonged entirely to our Government, but on the transfer of the Province to the present Maharajah they were sold back again for a large sum of money, the last instalment of one lakh of Rupees having only been repaid during the year 1884. The actual revenue under this head from sale of cattle, only just covers the expenditure, and the large amount of good land reserved for grazing ground represents therefore a dead loss to the State. In 1872 and the following years, we therefore see a revenue drawn almost entirely from agriculture and derived from an imperfectly developed country, with an expenditure yearly increasing devoted to an establishment modelled on that of the infinitely better developed provinces of British territory. This state of things was not calculated to stand a severe strain or test. The test came in the shape of famine, and then the whole fabric broke down. The famine of 1876-77 and -78 was more severely felt by Mysore than by any other Province in India, because it prevailed over almost the whole extent of the country. In Madras whilst the north was struggling in the throes of famine, in the south there was nothing but high prices, and it was the same with Bombay and Hyderabad. What was lost in one place was regained in another. In Mysore it was not so. In almost every taluq there was scarcity and want, and there was no railway and few roads to bring the grain to the starving people. In addition to this came divided and wavering counsels. What was the result? Not only was the whole of the cash balance, which had risen to above 80 lakhs, swept away, but a debt of 80 more was incurred, and in spite of this the people died in hundreds of thousands. In no other Province was the mortality so great. It was equalled in a few taluqs of certain districts in British territory, but nowhere else was it so generally high. The word decimated is generally used to apply to great national catastrophes, and even in great wars, where modern inventions have rendered the slaughter on both sides so easy, the word is fairly correct. But as regards the loss of life in Mysore during that one fatal year 1877 the word fails to convey a proper representation of what took place. Not one-tenth but one-fourth of the population was swept away. Previous to the famine there had been five millions of people; whilst it prevailed 1,250,000 died, and now seven years after it has passed away there are still in round numbers only four millions. Not only have the bread winners been swept away, but the repopulation has been checked. What wonder then that the revenue at once fell? Lands were thrown up because there was no one to cultivate them, and it

has taken the country a longer time to recover from two years of famine and mismanagement than it did to recover from the fifty years of war during the last century.

But, though the revenue had fallen it has been found difficult to bring back the establishments to their former more modest limits, and the consequence has been that, after meeting the interest due on her debt, Mysore, for nine years, has only just been able to make ends meet, and even this could not have been done without a great deal of cheese-paring under which the pay of the officers and especially of the subordinate grades, has been cut down to a limit too low to be safe. When the Maharajah came of age the increased subsidy should have been levied, but as it is useless to expect blood from a stone, and as there was no money available, the payment was deferred for five years, until such time as the country had recovered from the effects of the famine. In 1885 the first payment should have been made but the evil day has again been deferred, and let us hope will not arrive until Mysore has reached the *status quo ante*, when she again has five millions of inhabitants, a revenue of 110 lakhs and a growing cash balance. Then, and then only can she be said to have recovered from the effects of the famine.

But what likelihood is there of such a time arriving? In 1885 the total revenue from all sources amounted to Rs. 100,70,975 being 2½ lakhs less than that of the previous year, and the expenditure amounted to Rs.99,53,596 leaving a balance of only a little more than one lakh of Rupees. In spite of all attempts at economy, the total expenditure was only Rs. 16,000 less than in the previous year, thus showing clearly that although the income may fall it is not possible to reduce the outgoings. It is not always possible for a State to cut its coat according to its cloth. This is scarcely the place in which to discuss in detail the heads and figures of a budget, but if any one cares to go through the different items of revenue he will find that the incidence per head of the population is at present as high as the average of the rest of India, and in some cases above the average. In ordinary years about 70 per cent. of the revenue is derived from the land (last year it was 67 per cent.) Every country which depends so largely upon its land revenue, must be liable to great fluctuations in revenue, and must allow a wide margin of balance in order to pay for the deficiencies which periodically occur. This at present Mysore is unable to do. She was on the verge of a famine last year, which if it had occurred might have created a deficit, (to take a low estimate) of 25 lakhs. From a danger of this kind she

is never free, and with so small a margin as she now has, how can she possibly meet such an expenditure without incurring more debt? In a scantily populated country like Mysore where so large a proportion of the revenue is derived from agriculture, it stands to reason that the revenue can only increase *pari passu* with the population. With so much land lying waste as at present, most men can cultivate as much as they desire, and the land is waste not because it is unproductive, but because there is no one to cultivate it. The increase of the land revenue will therefore in all probability be very gradual, since many years must pass before the population can stand at the same figure as it did before the famine. How then can a surplus be made? The establishments cannot well be cut down lower than they are now, for already many are nearly starved. In a few years the survey will have ceased operations and then about 3½ lakhs will fall in, but this is not enough to meet the increased subsidy and also to provide a surplus. The only item which can and should be cut down is that of the military. Mysore owns a small army of military and cavalry numbering about 3,000 men, which cost annually 7½ lakhs of Rupees, the maintenance of which formed one of the articles of the treaty of 1799. As a military force they are of course entirely useless though they perform useful service as treasury guards. This, however, could be far better done by Police and at less than half the cost. But, if they are not very useful they are ornamental, and come in well for purposes of state and show. Now this may be all very well, and it is no doubt a prejudice amongst native princes to possess armies of their own. From this point of view an army, however, is nothing more than a luxury, and a State has no more right to indulge in luxuries when it cannot afford them than a private individual has. One enlightened Prince, the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, has already shown himself to be above this prejudice, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the Maharajah of Mysore will follow his example. If like Cooch Behar, other native Princes would be content to accept a rank in our own army, a great step would be made towards the federalisation of the Indian Empire, for their interests and feelings would then be identified with our own. Our own forces, stationed in their territories are in reality paid for by their money. They might easily be made available for purposes of State pageantry and beyond this nothing is required.

Regarding the present Government of Mysore it is difficult now to pass an opinion. The present Dewan Mr. Seshadri Iyer has been but a short time (three years) in power, and he has had a very diffi-

cult and anxious time to go through. In Mysore as elsewhere there are parties and cliques, and Mr. Seshadri Iyer as a Madras Brahmin is naturally not viewed with the most favourable eyes by the Mysore Brahmins. Hitherto he may be congratulated upon what he has done, and he seems to be thoroughly in earnest in his wish to make himself a name as an able and honest minister. He is to a certain extent upon his trial, and with him the whole question of Native *versus* English administration. Enough has been said to show that he is not responsible for the present critical state of the Province, and it would be unfair to expect rapid results, for there is not in the country the same recuperative power that there is in Hyderabad. His work lies in the future and success can only be attained by steady perseverance. In one respect perhaps it would be well to hear that there was a change and that the Maharajah kept up the old native tradition of accessibility to his people. The tour lately taken by His Highness was a step in the right direction, but it is to be trusted that these will not be allowed to degenerate into mere pleasure pic-nics, but will be made the occasions for the Ruler of the State to come into personal contact with his people and his servants. The representative assembly, inaugurated by the late Dewan, is also an institution to be commended, if care is taken to preserve its representative character. At present it seems to be constituted chiefly of officials who may be fair representatives of the governing class, but can scarcely be said to be so of the people. No doubt it does not do to go forward too quickly, as Aurungzebe wrote to his son Kám Baksh, it does not do to let your feet be seen below your robe—but it does not do to fold one's hands and remain quiet. A real representative assembly in India will be an institution unprecedented in its history and may be the nucleus of great things to come. The assembly in Mysore may perhaps some day become a representative one, but it is not so now. This, and such other matters, may, however, be safely left to the Dewan. He is a strong man and is ambitious of earning the reputation of a statesman. Under his control the machinery of State moves smoothly along, and with free hands and a less embarrassed exchequer, we may fairly hope that he will lose no opportunity of introducing such reforms as may be needed. In his personal life the Maharajah does credit to the careful training which he received. He is simple in his habits, domestic in character, by no means inclined to extravagance, the husband of one wife, and manly in his tastes and amusements. He has a fine Province to rule over, and

should it be his good fortune to bring it again to a state of prosperity, he will do much to establish the fact that in good hands native government can compare well with English administration.

J. D. B. Gribble.

WILLIAM CAREY.

All students of mission history will thank Dr. Smith for his handsome and excellent life of Carey* who has been justly called the Father of Modern Missions and the Wycliffe of Asia. Although the work of the great triumvirate of which Carey formed the head is widely known through Mr. J. C. Marshman's graphic history, yet of Carey himself—the man as distinct from his work—comparatively little has been written; less almost, until Dr. Smith took up the task, than of either of his colleagues, Marshman or Ward. There is a sense no doubt in which a man is best known by his work, but in a still truer sense we can only rightly estimate the work as we enter into the spirit and aspirations of the man. This is eminently true of Carey. His versatility and industry and the vast work which he accomplished may fill us with amazement, but it is only as we get behind these to the hidden springs of action, and comprehend the boundless philanthropy and unassailable faith which bent his whole energies to the accomplishment of one vast purpose, that we are able rightly to estimate his influence and assign him his true place in Christian History. It is Dr. Smith's chief merit, that while not omitting to chronicle the achievements his chief anxiety is to set forth the *man*. This he does with true insight and complete sympathy, and his work is equally a valuable contribution to the history of Christianity in India and a rich and suggestive study in religious biography.

William Carey was born in a remote Northamptonshire village, in 1761. His father was parish clerk and he was therefore brought up within the pale of the Church of England, but before he was twenty years of age he had joined the Baptist Communion. His parents were poor and he was early apprenticed to shoemaking, at which trade he wrought even after he had become minister of the

*The Life of William Carey D.D. Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali and Marathi in the College of Fort William, Calcutta; by George Smith, LL.D., C.I.E. With Portrait and Illustrations. London: John Murray, 1885. (price 18/-)

Baptist Church at Moulton. But it never yielded him more than a bare subsistence, and extreme poverty, which was the choice of his manhood and old age, was the enforced lot of his youth. But if it did not yield him wealth it left him what was more precious, time for thought. Coleridge declared, that shoemaking had given to the world more eminent men than any other handicraft; and there is no doubt that it was while Carey enjoyed "the leisure of the last" that he conceived and matured his great schemes. Nor was this all. At the cobbler's bench he mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Dutch, thus laying the foundation of the vast linguistic attainments which afterwards made him famous; and while he wandered from village to village selling shoes he cultivated that love of nature, and those habits of accurate observation which made him in after years one of the most accomplished naturalists in India. He was twenty-five years of age when—exactly a hundred years ago—he was ordained minister of the Baptist Church at Moulton on the luxurious stipend of "£10 per annum from the Church and £5 from a fund in London." He was married, and had moreover burdened himself with the support of the widow of his late employer, so that it was absolutely necessary that he should find other work to supplement his scanty income. For a while he tried teaching, taking charge of the village school. But in this he failed. He was too busy learning himself to drill the village children in the rudiments of knowledge, and he failed equally in his attempts to keep them in order. So the old teacher was recalled and Carey returned to his last at which he steadily worked for another five years.

It was during his ministry at Moulton, that Carey first began to think of missions to the heathen as a distinct duty of the Church. His attention had been drawn to the condition of the heathen world in the first instance by a perusal of Captain Cook's Voyages, and he now began to gather all the information he could respecting non-Christian nations, their population, religion, &c. The slave-trade agitation was then going on, and many Christian men were beginning to feel that the sacred duty of evangelizing and civilizing these oppressed races lay upon England, and in the West Indies the work had already been begun. But to Carey belongs the honour of having been the first Englishman who set in the forefront of the Church's duties the obligation to carry the gospel to all who had not heard it. It was at a meeting of Baptist Ministers at Northampton in 1786, that he asked his famous question—

"Whether the command given to the Apostles to teach all nations is not obligatory upon all succeeding ministers to the end of time, seeing that the promise is of equal extent." He was then the youngest minister in the meeting and his presumption was rebuked; "you are a miserable enthusiast for asking such a question. Certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost." It took Carey six years to change this determined opposition into hearty co-operation, but he gave himself no rest till he had accomplished it. In 1792 he published his famous *Enquiry* * which, Dr. Smith remarks—

"Has a literary interest of its own, as a contribution to the statistics and geography of the world, written in a cultured and almost finished style, such as few, if any, university men of that day could have produced. . . . . In an obscure village, toiling save when he slept, and finding rest on Sunday only by a change of toil, far from libraries and the society of men with more advantages than his own, this shoemaker, still under thirty, surveys the whole world, continent by continent, island by island, race by race, faith by faith, kingdom by kingdom, tabulating his results with an accuracy, and following them up with a logical power of generalization which would extort the admiration of the learned even of the present day."

The publication of the *Enquiry* was followed up by a sermon which Carey preached before the Northampton Ministers in May of the same year, and in October the "Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" was formally constituted, and the first English Missionary Collection—amounting to £13-2-6—was taken. This sum soon grew, for the Missionary spirit was rapidly spreading, and within a year Carey and John Thomas—a surgeon who had been in the Company's service—were commissioned by the Society to proceed to Bengal.

The first difficulties which they had to meet arose from the exclusive policy of the East India Company. It was in those days a "high crime and misdemeanour" for any subject of His Majesty to proceed to India without a license from the Court of Directors. Captains of the Company's ships were forbidden on pain of dismissal from the service to give a passage to any unlicensed person; and that this rule might be more efficiently carried out, every Captain was ordered to hand to the pilot in the Hugli a list of all persons on board his ship. The Governor-General was at the same time

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* *An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathens, in which the Religious state of the various Nations of the World, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings are considered; by* William Carey.

empowered summarily to deport any unlicensed persons that might be found in India, and although this power was seldom wantonly used, and hundreds of such "interlopers" were to be found in Calcutta, it nevertheless served to place them entirely at the mercy of the Government. As there existed at that time an unconquerable prejudice on the part of those in power against the introduction of Christianity into India, and a deep, and on many hands undoubtedly honest conviction that the stability of our empire depended on the respect paid to the "superstitions and practises of the natives," it would have been useless for Carey and Thomas to hope for a license from the Court of Directors; and Mr. Charles Grant, the unchanging friend of all Christian effort in India and himself high in the Company's service, advised them not to apply. They accordingly sailed in a Danish East Indiaman and determined to face the risk of deportation. "Depend upon it," said John Newton to Carey, "if you are sent back God has no work for you to do there." But they were not sent back. For a while their obscurity was their safeguard and by the time their work began to tell they had gained influential friends in India. Their agreement with the Society at home was that as soon as practicable they were to support themselves, the Society sending them money only so long as it was absolutely requisite. Mr Thomas hoped to make a living by the exercise of his profession and Carey put his trust in agriculture. The first year was one of difficulty and poverty to both of them, but especially to Carey who could ill support his wife and family on the trifling allowance received from home. In 1794, however, they each received from Mr. Udny a civilian who had established indigo factories in the Malda district, an appointment as Superintendent of a factory, Carey at Mudnabatty and Thomas about sixteen miles distant. There Carey lived for six years and there he founded his first Mission; and but for the hostility of the Government Mudnabatty would in all probability have been his permanent head quarters. That hostility however was overruled to bring him to a wider and more fruitful sphere than fever-stricken Malda.

In 1799 an American ship arrived in the Hugli bringing four assistants to reinforce the Mission, two of whom were Marshman and Ward. Three years previously Mr. Fountain had joined Carey having made his way to India as a servant on board one of the Company's ships. He had been allowed to settle in the country and no attempt had been made either to expel him or to interfere

with his work. Carey hoped that the same good fortune would attend the new arrivals, but it was not so to be. So large a contingent could not escape detection and as they came out openly as Missionaries it was naturally regarded as almost a challenge to the Government to put into operation the rules against interlopers, and an order was in consequence issued commanding them to leave the country. Fortunately they had brought with them a letter of introduction from the Danish Consul in London to the Governor of Serampore, who now courteously invited them to make the Danish settlement their home and claimed them as his subjects. The order of the Calcutta Government was thus evaded, but it was evident that they would not be allowed to settle in British territory and hence, instead of attempting to join Carey at Mudnabatty, they sent Ward to visit him there—which he did under the protection of a Danish passport—to urge him to give up his Indigo factory and join them at Serampore. To this he consented and the beginning of the present century saw the Mission firmly established under the friendly protection of the Danes in the centre of the most densely peopled portion of the Gangetic delta. The opposition of the Government thus turned out in this instance rather for the furtherance of the gospel, but it was not always so. Although Serampore was the headquarters of the Missionaries it was nothing more. Their object was to work out from it as a centre into the surrounding districts. In this they were liable at any moment to come into collision with British officers. By studiously avoiding anything by which this was likely to be brought about they succeeded for the most part in disarming suspicion and winning even their enemies. But such was the antagonism which their zeal aroused in certain of the most influential members of the government that this was not always possible. During the government of Lord Wellesley, with whom they were soon on the best of terms, they were unmolested but no sooner had Lord Minto succeeded to the Governor-Generalship than a furious storm of persecution broke out. They were forbidden to preach in Calcutta, to send their converts on tours into British territory and to distribute tracts; and, on the ground that a tract published at their press contained expressions calculated to offend Muhammadans, a determined effort was made to remove their press from Serampore to Calcutta where it would have been under police supervision. This attempt was defeated only by the determination of the Danish Governor and the conciliatory action of the Missionaries, who were willing to yield to their powerful foes

wherever conscience would allow them. This was in 1807. The year before, while Sir Geo. Barlow was acting Governor-General, an attempt had been made to expel two new Missionaries who had arrived in an American ship—an attempt from which the government desisted only when it became evident that to persist would be to embroil the Company with the Courts of Denmark and the United States. In 1812, when Serampore was temporarily in the hands of the British, a similar attempt was made with greater success, and a Mr. Johns who had recently arrived was actually compelled to return to England. This was the last outbreak of British intolerance and the succeeding year all possibility of its recurrence was destroyed by the inclusion of what is known as the "Missionary clause" in the Charter which renewed the powers of the East India Company.

When Carey joined his colleagues at Serampore his first work was to organize and establish in suitable premises the "Brotherhood" which he had long desired. There were six Mission families exclusive of Mr. Thomas who remained at Dinajpore. A house was secured capable of accommodating them all, and they formed a common family. Writing on January 18th 1800, Mr. Ward remarks :—

"This week we have adopted a set of rules for the government of the family. All preach and pray in turn; one superintends the affairs of the family for a month, and then another; brother Carey is treasurer, and has the regulation of the medicine chest; brother Fountain is librarian. Saturday evening is devoted to adjusting differences, and pledging ourselves to love one another. One of our resolutions is that no one of us do engage in private trade; but that all be done for the benefit of the mission."

The agreement of 1800 was expanded into a definite "Form of Agreement" in 1805 which they determined solemnly to read together three times a year. In 1817 the duty of each brother making provision for his family in case of his own death led them to agree that each should deduct *one tenth* of the net produce of his labour to form a fund in his own hands for these purposes. This brotherhood outlived its founders. For more than thirty years it bound "the whole in a holy bond of prayerful co-operation and loving fellowship" while "it set the church at home free to enter incessantly on new fields." "We know nothing," says Dr. Smith, "in the history of missions, monastic or evangelical, which at all approaches this in administrative perfectness, as well as in Christ-like self-sacrifice." A couple of years after its formation the Brotherhood was much more than self-supporting. Marshman opened a school for European children which for many years

yielded a profit of £1,000 per annum. In May 1801 Carey was appointed Teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit in the newly opened College of Fort William, for which he received at first 500 and afterwards 1000 rupees per month. Dr. Smith shows that from the date of his appointment to his death in 1834 Carey drew from Government in all the large sum of Rs. 3,60,100. All this, together with Marshman's £1,000 per annum, was freely given to the Mission and it was this that enabled them to accomplish the work that has made them for ever famous.

We must turn now to the special work to which Carey devoted his talents and time—that of Bible translation. From the first he hoped to give the Bible to the Bengalis, but long before he settled at Serampore he had conceived a wider scheme. His study of Sanskrit opened the door to many other Indian languages, and he determined to devote his great linguistic powers to the translation of the scriptures into all these. Before he left Mudnabatty the Bengali New Testament was ready for the press, and a Sanskrit translation was in hand. When Ward who had been a printer in England arrived, Carey handed over to him an old wooden press which he had purchased a few months before, and in nine months the whole New Testament in Bengali was struck off. This was the first work of what under Ward's able management soon became the most perfect Oriental press in Asia. How rapidly it developed may be judged from the fact that in 1811 it had 19 printing machines in constant work, and when in 1812 it was destroyed by fire there were melted about 240 founts of type in no fewer than fourteen languages. Ward's success in the printing stimulated Carey's zeal in translation, while his appointment to the College of Fort William gave him special facilities for the work by bringing him into contact with the best Oriental scholars in India. Writing to Dr. Ryland in 1803 Carey remarks :—

"We have it in our power if our means would do for it, in the space of about fifteen years to have the Word of God translated and printed in all the languages of the East. Our situation is such as to furnish us with the best assistance from natives of the different countries. We can have types of all the different characters cast here; and about 700 Rupees per month, part of which I hope we shall be able to furnish, would complete the work. . . . On this great work we have fixed our eyes. Whether God will enable us to accomplish it, or any considerable part of it is uncertain."

Five years later he thus reviews the work accomplished in 1807 :—

"Last year may be reckoned among the most important which this mission has seen,—not for the numbers converted among the natives, for they have

been fewer than in some preceding years, but for the gracious care which God has exercised towards us. We have been enabled to carry on the translation and printing of the Word of God in several languages. The printing is now going on in six and the translation into six more. The Bengali is all printed except from Judges vii to the end of Esther; Sanskrit New Testament to Acts xxvii; Orissa to John xxi; Mahratta (2nd Ed.) to the end of Matthew; Hindustani (new version) to Mark v, and Matthew is begun in Goojarathi. The translation is nearly carried on to the end of John in Chinese, Telinga, Kurnata, and the language of the Sikhs. It is carried on to a pretty large extent in Persian and begun in Burman."

In 1811 he gives us a glimpse of other linguistic work which sprang natural out of the translations. It is again from a letter to Dr. Ryland :—

"I have been much impressed of late with the vast importance of laying a foundation for Biblical criticism in the East, by preparing grammars of the different languages into which we have translated or may translate the Bible. Without some such step they who follow us will have to wade through the same labour that I have, in order to stand merely upon the same ground that I now stand upon. If, however, elementary books are provided, the labour will be greatly contracted; and a person will be able in a short time to acquire that which has cost me years of study and toil.

"The necessity which lies upon me of acquiring so many languages, obliges me to study and write out the grammar of each of them, and to attend closely to their irregularities and peculiarities. I have therefore already published grammars of three of them; *viz.*, the Sanskrit, the Bengali, and the Mahrathi. To these I have resolved to add grammars of the Telinga, Kurnata, Orissa, Punjabi, Kashmeeri, Goojarathi, Nepalese and Assam languages. Two of these are now in the press, and I hope to have two or three more of them out by the end of the next year."

* * * * * * *

"I am now printing a dictionary of the Bengali which will be pretty large, for I have got to page 256 quarto, and am not near through the first letter. That letter, however, begins more words than any two others.

"To secure the gradual perfection of the translations, I have also in my mind, and indeed have been long collecting materials, for *An Universal Dictionary of the Oriental languages derived from the Sanskrit.* I mean to take the Sanskrit of course as the ground-work and to give the different acceptations of every word, with examples of their application, in the manner of Johnson, and then to give the synonyms in the different languages derived from the Sanskrit, with the Hebrew and Greek terms answering thereto ...... Should I live to accomplish this, and the translations in hand, I think I can then say, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.'"

Our space will not permit us to follow this work of translation further. We can only summarize the results. Dr. Smith gives (pp. 238-9) a list of "Thirty-four translations of the Bible, made and edited by Dr. Carey." Six of these (Bengali, Ooriya, Assamese,

Sanskrit, Hindi and Mahrathi) included the whole Bible, four the New Testament and part of the Old, and the remainder the New Testament only. In addition to this, there were six other versions printed at Serampore—Chinese (Dr. Marshman's translation, the first ever made), Persian, Hindustani, Malayalam, Burmese, and Singhalese. Many of the earlier versions were subjected to careful revision and every New Edition made them more perfect. In 1832 Carey was busy with the Eighth Edition of the Bengali New Testament. This was his last work. "The venerable scholar, like Columba at Iona over the seventy-second Psalm, and Bæda at Jarrow over the sixth Chapter of St. John's Gospel, said as he corrected the last sheet—the last after forty years faithful and delighted toil: 'My work is done. I have nothing more to do but to wait the will of the Lord.'"

The other work of the Brotherhood—their Vernacular Schools, in which by 1812 there were over 10,000 children; their College, which founded in 1818 anticipated much of the Higher Educational work of the present day; their "Benevolent Institution for the Education of indigent children," which for many years provided for 400 children chiefly of the "poor whites" of Calcutta; their journalistic enterprise, which gave to India the first vernacular paper, and an English weekly which for many years was the most powerful organ in India; their Saving's Bank, which during the four years of its existence paved the way by its popularity and success for Lord W. Bentinck's subsequent work in the same direction;—all these things, and a host of others in which these men did almost more than any of their contemporaries for the moral and material welfare of India, we must pass by, for the honour of them belongs as much to Carey's colleagues as to himself. We can only notice those other branches of work which are especially connected with Carey's name.

We have seen that as a boy Carey had conceived a great love for Natural Science. Before he was twenty years of age he is said to have known every bird, insect, and wild plant in the Midland Counties of England. This love grew with his years. His letters from India are full of descriptions of tropical plants, and he early began attempts, which he never relinquished, to introduce into India English plants and modes of agriculture. In this he followed the example of the Danish Missionaries of Tranquebar, doing for North India what they had done on a smaller scale for the South. At Mudnabatty he soon had his garden filled with the choicest pro-

ducts of the tropics, and this was repeated on a larger scale at Serampore, where the compound of two acres around the first Mission House was, immediately after its purchase, "handed over to Brother Carey for a botanic garden." In a few years this garden was second only to the Company's at Calcutta—which he had done more than any other man to enrich. This was his one recreation, and a source of perennial delight. "That I might be sure not to lose any part of your valuable present," he writes in 1821 in a letter to a friend who had sent him a bag of seeds, "I shook the bag over a patch of earth in a shady place; on visiting which a few days afterwards I found springing up, to my inexpressible delight a *Bellis perennis* of our English pastures. I know not that I ever enjoyed since leaving Europe, a simple pleasure so exquisite as the sight of this English daisy afforded me; not having seen one for upwards of thirty years, and never expecting to see one again." It was this simple incident that inspired James Montgomery's beautiful lines :—"Thrice welcome, little English flower!" Carey's garden was his oratory. There in the early morning he spent an hour in meditation and prayer, and there as he often said, he found refuge and solace in every trouble and anxiety. "No one" his son Jonathan tells us, "was allowed to interfere in the arrangements of this his favourite retreat. The arrangements made by him were on the Linnæan system; and to disturb a bed or border was to touch the apple of his eye. The garden formed the rarest botanical collection in the East; to the extension of which by his correspondence with persons of eminence in Europe and other parts of the world, his attention was continually directed."

He was soon known in India as an accurate botanist. He early gained the esteem of Dr. Roxburgh, the head of the Company's gardens, who perpetuated the name of his friend by calling a genus of Myrtaceæ "Careya" of one species of this genus—*Careya herbacea* —Carey was himself the discoverer. When in 1814 that accomplished botanist had to go to sea under the burden of the disease which killed him within a year, Carey undertook the editing and publishing of his *Hortus Bengalensis*. In his introduction to this work Carey urges all European residents in India to give a little time and energy to the collection of tropical plants, remarking that as yet only a beginning had been made towards a complete catalogue of Indian products. When Dr. Roxburgh died Carey, rather than suffer his friend's labours to be lost, undertook to edit and publish, at his own risk, the *Flora Indica* which he had left incomplete in

MS. Three large quarto volumes were issued in 1820, and the fourth in 1832. Complete editions of this great work, with all the original plates have sold for as much as Rs. 480 and a recent edition issued without plates is still used and prized by Indian Botanists.

As early as 1794 Carey had written to the Society at home :—

"I wish you to send me a few instruments of husbandry, viz., scythes, sickles, ploughs, wheels and such things; and a yearly assortment of all garden and flowering seeds, and all seeds of fruit trees that you can possibly procure .... all these things at whatever price you can procure them, and the seeds of all sorts of field and forest trees, &c. I will regularly remit you the money for every year; and I hope that I may depend upon the exertions of my numerous friends to procure them .... It will be a lasting advantage to this country; and I shall have it in my power to do this for what I now call *my own* country."

This was the spirit in which he began his botanical work in India, and throughout it he kept the same object ever in view. He planted the grounds at Serampore with new and valuable trees, introduced to the natives new methods and new branches of agriculture, and sought both by voice and pen to rouse the Government to a recognition of the need of agricultural reform. A paper which he wrote for the Bengal Asiatic Society and which is published in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1811 is "remarkable for the true note which the writer was the first to strike on the subject of *forestry*." He urged the planting of timber trees—the Sissoo the Andaman redwood, the teak, the mahogany and the satin-wood wherever they would be likely to thrive. "In many places," says he, "spots now unproductive would be improved by clumps or small plantations of timber under which ginger or turmeric might be cultivated to great advantage . . . Indeed the improvements that might be made in this country by the planting of timber can scarcely be calculated." "To England," he thought, "the first commercial country in the world, the importance of this must be obvious," and yet it was not until 1846 that the Government of India awoke to its importance, and took steps to conserve the timber of Malabar for the Bombay dockyard. In 1820 Carey took a still more practical step, in issuing from the Mission House, Serampore, a *Prospectus of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India*. At the first meeting, held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, there were present only three Europeans besides the Missionaries, but to what that Society has now grown, and the influence which it has exerted during the sixty-six years of its existence are well known. In 1842, eight years after Carey's death when the Society moved to its new pre-

mises, it resolved to honour the memory of its founder. At a meeting held for this purpose it fell to the lot of Dr. Wallich—Dr. Roxburgh's successor and Carey's friend—to propose "That the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, duly estimating the great and important services rendered to the interests of British India by the founder of the institution, the late Rev. Dr. William Carey, who unceasingly applied his great talents, abilities and influence in advancing the happiness of India—more especially by the spread of an improved system of husbandry and gardening—desire to mark by some permanent record, their sense of his transcendent worth, by placing a marble bust to his memory in the Society's new Appartments in the Metcalfe Hall, there to remain a lasting testimony to the pure and disinterested zeal and labours of so illustrious a character; and that a subscription, accordingly, from among the members of the Society be urgently recommended for the accomplishment of the above object."

Such is a brief outline of the life of one of the noblest men England ever sent to India—a man who would have become famous in almost any walk of life, but who was even more distinguished for his childlike simplicity and humility than for his vast attainments and self-denying philanthropy. Those who would fill up the outline, we refer to Dr. Smith's volume where with many a graphic touch he is made to live before our eyes as "from the lowest obscurity and poverty, without assistance, he rose by dint of unrelenting industry to the highest honours of literature, became one of the first of Orientalists, the first of Missionaries, and the instrument of diffusing more religious knowledge among his contemporaries than has fallen to the lot of any individual since the Reformation."*

GEORGE PATTERSON.

SALÁMÁN AND ABSÁL.

Jámi, one of the most famous of the Súfi poets, flourished in the ninth century of the Hijra. He was a native of Khorasan and studied the mystic doctrines of Súfíism under the Shaikh-ul-Islám Saad-ud-din of Kashghar. In due course he became a great authority on this subject and was also famous as a grammarian and

* Robert Hall.

theologian. His poems were highly valued, and are still much esteemed as part of the classical literature of the Persian language. The stories of Lailí and Mujnún, of Yusuf and Zulaikha will remain as long as Persian poetry finds admiring readers. There is, however, a small poem less widely known, but which is unrivalled as an exposition of the Súfi system. In a collection of short fragmentary pieces like the Divan of Hafiz, the pearls of Súfíistic love, to use an eastern metaphor, are loosely strung together, and it is only very patient students who can find the esoteric meaning of the poet. The advantage of the form of instruction adopted by Jámi in the 'Salámán and Absál' is that the tale is continuous and is explained by the author himself. This authoritative interpretation is, as we shall see later on, a fact of considerable importance, for it raises a doubt as to whether Súfíism is, as it is commonly said to be, a pantheistic system. It is necessary at this stage to give an outline of the story.

Jámi, according to the usual custom of the poets, commences by an invocation of the eternal spirit. Then confused and lost in the contemplation of self and of that 'other than self' he prays :—

"Do Thou my separate and derived self
Make one with thy Essential! Leave me room
On that divan which leaves no room for twain;
Lest, like the simple Arab in the tale,
I grow perplext, oh God, 'twixt 'Me' and 'Thee'
If I—this spirit that inspires me whence?
If Thou—then what this sensual impotence?"

This gives the key-note to the whole story which is an account of the way in which the soul returns to Him who made it. The Arab story referred to is an amusing and excellent illustration of the manner in which matters of serious moment were lightly parodied.

A simple Arab of the desert came to the busy city of Baghdad. The busy bustling crowd confused this child of the desert. He longed for rest and sleep :—

"'But then, on waking
How,' quoth he, 'amid so many
Waking know myself again?'
So to make the matter certain,
Strung a gourd about his ancle,
And, unto a corner creeping,
Baghdad and himself and people
Soon were blotted from his brain.
But one that heard him, and divined
His purpose, slily crept behind;

From the sleeper's ancle slipping,
Round his own the pumpkin tied
Then laid him down to sleep beside.
By and by the Arab waking,
Looks directly for his signal,
Sees it on another's ancle
Cries aloud, 'oh good for nothing
Rascal to perplex me so!
That by you I am bewildered
Whether I be I or no!
If I—the pumpkin why on you?
If you—then where am I and who?'"

After this serious and this comic introduction the story begins. A king, a successor of the famous Sikandar, had a wise counsellor who guided him in all matters of state-craft with so much skill that the rule of the Shah extended to the Koh-i-kaf, the limits of the then known world. Far and wide went the mandate of the Sháh, and none dared to disobey his behest, but notwithstanding all this power and glory the heart of the Sháh was sad. He had no son and heir. He called for his counsellor, known as the Sage, and confided to him his intense desire for a son:—

"One in whose youth a father shall prolong
His years, and in his strength continue strong."

The Sage points out that all the advantages of a son so eloquently described by the Sháh relate to a *good* son, but, as bad sons are not unknown, his advice is:—

"Beware of teazing Allah, for a son
Whom having, you may have to pray to lose."

The Sháh retains his desire and "with magic mighty wisdom his own will colleagued, and wrought his own accomplishment, when lo! from darkness came a child to light, a child formed in no carnal mould." His name was Salámán.* As he had no earthly mother, a young and beautiful nurse, Absál by name, tended him with loving care till he reached the age of fourteen. As a lad he excelled in all manly exercises, was skilful with the lyre, melodious in song, and played to perfection the chess† of social intercourse.

So Jámi sings his song of praise and extols the grace and beauty

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* A compound of Salámat, (peace) and Asmán, (heaven), for he brought the peace of Paradise to his father.

† Metaphors and similes drawn from the game of chess are constantly used by Persian poets.

of the young prince of Yunan. Then the voice of conscience reproaches him for thus praising an unbeliever :—

"Foolish Jámi
Wearing that undefatigable pen
In celebration of an alien Sháh
Whose throne, not grounded on the Eternal World
If yesterday it were, To-day is not,
To-morrow cannot be. But I replied
Oh! fount of light! under an alien name
I shadow one upon whose head the crown
Was, and yet is and shall be."

Meanwhile Absál looks with desire upon the beauty of the lad whom she had cared for and tended. At length he falls a victim to her blandishment. The Sháh and the Sage are sorely grieved. The father bids the boy ride, hunt, fight, do anything except submit "to be slain by the arrow eye of a gazelle." He said :—

"Years have I held my head aloft, and all
For thee—Oh shame if thou prepare my fall."

Jámi now improves the occasion and by way of a variation introduces a short parable: —

"When before Shirúyah's dagger
Kai Khúsran, his father, fell.
He declared this parable :—
'Wretch—there was a branch that waxing
Wanton o'er the root he drank from,
At a draught the living water
Drain'd wherewith himself to crown
Dried the root—and with him died
The branch, and barren was brought down.'"

The Sage next tried to reason with the lad. As his words are important in connection with the explanation of the story I quote them in full :—

"O last new vintage of the vine of life
Planted in Paradise, the master-stroke,
And all concluding flourish of the pen
'*Kun fa yakún*',* thyself prime archetype
And ultimate accomplishment of man.
The Almighty hand, that out of common earth
Thy mortal outward to the perfect form
Of beauty moulded, in the fleeting dust,
Inscribed Himself, and in thy bosom set
A mirror to reflect Himself in Thee.
Let not that dust by rebel passion blown

---

* '*Be and it is*': words used in the creation of the universe.

Obliterate that character : nor let,
That mirror, sullied by the breath impure,
Or form of carnal beauty fore-possest,
Be made incapable of the Divine,
Supreme is thy original degree
Thy star upon the top of heaven; but lust
Will bring it down, down even to the dust."

To all this Salámán turned a deaf ear, and being unable to meet the arguments of the Sage, he placed Absál on a fleet camel, and mounted by her side stole away. Six days and nights they hurried on, till their further flight was arrested by a mighty sea. The lovers felt that safety was only to be secured on the other side, and to attain this end they constructed a skiff of scented wood and launched upon the deep. At length they reached an island, rich in flowers and fruit, and in birds of varied plumage and sweet of song. Salámán now found rest. All thought of journeying onward passed away and both gave themselves up to full enjoyment.

All this time the Shah had mourned the flight of his son. He changed his "royal robe for ashes, and his throne for dust." All search for the fugitives failed :—

"Then from his secret art the sage vizier
A magic mirror made—a mirror like
The bosom of all-wise intelligence."

The Sháh looked upon the mirror and saw in the far-distant isle his darling entranced by the charms of the beautiful Absál. Days passed by and still the Shah :—

"Beheld his son now in the woman lost,
And still the crown that should adorn his head,
And still the throne that waited for his foot,
Both trampled under by a base desire,
Of which the soul was still unsatisfied."

The Sháh lost all patience, he brought all the power of his will to bear on the young prodigal. Then Salámán mesmerised could see but could not reach his love. In agony and despair he turned and saw his father's arm ready to rescue him from his fate. Then

"Timidly tow'rd his father's eyes his own
He lifted, pardon-pleading, crime confest
And drew once more to that forsaken throne
As the stray bird one day will find her nest."

But the attractions of Absál were still too strong. Again he leaves his home and flees with the partner of his faults and follies. This time it is not to an earthly paradise, but to the solitude of

desolation—a wilderness of death. Sad and weary they construct a funeral pile, apply a light and leap into the flame :—

> "But the sage
> In secret all had order'd, and the flame
> Directed by his self-fulfilling will,
> Devouring her to ashes, left untouched
> Salámán—all the baser metal burn'd,
> And to itself the authentic gold return'd."

Salámán now stood alone in his individuality, but that utter loneliness was maddening, his eyes wept blood, his sighs rose up like smoke to heaven. Then the Sage found him pensive and sad, and, exercising his magic will, raised a phantom of Absál which appeared for awhile and then passed into oblivion. The sight recalled Salámán to himself and again the flame of love was kindled. The Sage saw this and described in glowing terms the lovely Zuhrah (Venus), a very star of beauty, to whom Absál and all such worldly creatures were but as the glimmer of a taper. Salámán listened and, as he listened, Zuhrah in all her glorious beauty stood beside him, and then for ever blotted Absál's image from his breast. Thus he

> "Left the earthly, and once come to know,
> Eternal love, he let the other go."

Great were now the rejoicings in the Court of the Sháh, Kings and Princes, Amirs, Nobles, all from far and near obeyed the call of their sovereign lord the Sháh, and came to do obeisance to the son lost and found, the heir to the golden crown and throne of gold.

Jámi at this stage drops the allegory, and in the person of the Sháh gives sound moral and political advice to kings and rulers. In the wild days when Muslim chiefs went forth to conquer or to die, when dynasty succeeded dynasty in bewildering rapidity, when might was right and autocratic power ruled, sometimes well, oftener ill, millions of the human race, the Súfi poets acted as men of heroic mould, and gave to Sháhs and to Sultáns, fearless of all consequence, sound and good advice. In words plain and clear they spoke as Jámi now did :—

> "Thou art a shepherd, and thy flock the people,
> To help and save, not ravage and destroy ;
> For which is for the other, flock or shepherd?"

But this is a digression, we are now concerned with the allegory and its mystical meaning, not with the practical lessons Jámi mixes with it.

The allegory ends with the final return of Salámán to the Court

of the Sháh. The poet then supplies the key to unlock the cabinet of meaning.

According to Jámi's interpretation of the Súfi cosmogony:—

"The incomparable Creator, when this world
He did create, created first of all
The first Intelligence—first of a chain
Of ten Intelligences, of which the last
Sole agent is in this our universe,
Active Intelligence so called—the one
Distributor of evil and of good,
Of joy and sorrow. Himself apart from matter
In essence and in energy—He yet
Hath fashioned all that is—material form
And spiritual, all from Him—by Him
Directed all, and in his bounty drown'd.
Therefore is He that firman issuing Sháh
To whom the world was subject."

A higher power supplies all that the Sháh distributes to the universe. The higher power is the Sage, the wisdom. Then of pure spirit, with no taint of matter, the soul of man was produced. This is Salámán. The soul for its outward garb requires a body, through which as a medium it may perceive and receive the joy and delight of things of sense. This body is Absál:—

"These in such a bond
United as God only can divide
As lovers in this tale are signified."

The island in the deep is the 'world of being' in which the soul remains apart from its Creator. Salámán fell short of his desire, and this shows that in the external world of sense there is no permanent joy, and that existence in the 'other' leads to no real peace. Thus he goes back to his father, the soul returns to its true parentage. Still it needs discipline, until all desire of separate existence is purged away. The process, even after the fiery trial is slow, and so the Sage calls up a picture of the past, a phantom Absál, but follows it up by a revelation to Salámán of one purer and better far than the companion of his existence in the world of sense. Then all mortal love, all desire for phenomenal existence passes away. For what is Zuhrah?

"What but that divine
Original, of which the soul of man
Darkly possest, by that fierce discipline
At last he disengages from the dust,
And flinging off the baser rags of sense,

And all in intellectual light arrayed,
As conqueror and king he mounts the throne,
And wears the crown of human glory—whence
Throne over throne surmounting, he shall reign
One with the Last and First Intelligence."

The point of the allegory is that Salámán returns not to the "Incomparable Creator," but to that which He created "the Last and First Intelligence."

This "First intelligence" appears under various names in Súfi writings. It is called the primal element, the pen, the spirit of Muhammad, universal reason (aql-i-kull). The world of this primal element is co-extensive with the universe. God's voice is said to be heard through it, hence it is called the 'Pen.' The Káf* of His power breathed on the Pen, and cast thousands of pictures on the page of "not being", that is, material things which have no real existence were brought into apparent existence by this primal intelligence or, according to Jámi, by the tenth or Last intelligence. As this element receives from God and bestows on man, it is said to include the saintly and prophetic offices, and in this aspect of it it is called the Spirit of Muhammad, or the Núr-i-Muhammadi (light of Muhammad). This explains passages in Súfi writings which would imply that Prophets and Imáms are one with God, and also throws light on much of the extravagant adulation of the Khalif 'Ali, whom many Shiahs almost deify. As an Imám he is connected with this First Intelligence, to which in common with all saints he will return.

As the soul of man is thus, according to the Súfi, sprung from this primal element—the Sháh of Jámi's poem,—the main object of the individual should be to leave his individuality and to return to the source of his being. His work in life is done when "His end is joined to the beginning"†, but this beginning is created, for "it is admitted, equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the *first principle* which at the mandate, 'Be and it is' issued, by the instrumentality of the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the *primary intellect*, and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation call it the Muhammadan spirit." ‡

It is certainly to this, and not to the Creator to which Jámi makes

* Káf is the first letter of the word Kudrat, power.

† Ba ághaz girdad báz anjám. *Gulshan-i-Ráz.*

‡ Akhláq-i-Jaláli, p. 358.

Salámán return. The Muslim idea of God is that of a pitiless fate—a God afar off. Súfíism is an attempt of the human mind to bridge over this gulf. This *First Intelligence,* or *Primal element,* is represented as a manifestation of God, a means by which other created beings are formed. A tradition given on the authority of the Khalif Ali makes Muhammad say, "I was created from the light of God, whilst all other created beings were formed from the Núr-i-Muhammadi," that is from this First Intelligence. The question then arises, whether all allusions in the Súfi poets to the absorption of the soul in a superior being mean re-union with God, or with some manifestation of God. The Qurán says plainly enough "from Him was the origin and to Him is the return" (Súra x, 4). Jámi might reply that 'Him' here means God as manifested in the First and Last Intelligence, by which He, the Sháh of the allegory, created the worlds and through which, He executes His decrees. If Jámi's exposition of Súfi doctrine is correct, it cast a new light on the subject, and makes even the most spiritual aspect of Islám dark and dreary, for it shows us how men, apparently longing for a closer communion with God, fell short of the mark, how even to them He is still "sterile in His inaccessible height," satisfied to let them feel that they can never be more than slaves, that nearness to Him is impossible. They felt the need of some intermediary, they found it in a revival of the old gnostic notions of the Æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. The gnostic theory was that God was immanent, incomprehensible, and the original source of all perfection. "From this incomprehensible essence of God an immediate transition to finite things is not conceivable. Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life on the part of God—the first passing of the hidden Deity into manifestation; and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence. Now, from this primal link in the chain of life there are evolved, in the first place, the manifold powers or attributes inherent in the divine essence, which, until that first self-comprehension, were all hidden in the abyss of his essence. These divine powers, evolving themselves to self-subsistence, become thereupon the germs and principles of all further developments of life."* To all this the Súfi would subscribe, and the origin of Súfíism is to be found in gnosticism. The true antidote for both is a faith in great historical facts, on which the religious convictions of all men alike can depend.

* Neander, Church History, Vol. ii. p. 11.

The Súfi, being a Muslim was too proud to search into the true historical facts of the Christian religion, or he would then have found just what would have met his case and satisfied his soul. God manifested, not in some intangible principle, but in a living person, in One who "is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature. For by Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities or powers; all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist."* Those in whom His spirit dwells are His spiritual body. Thus do they even now become joined to Him, as the branches are in the vine, one in life, one in purpose; but preserving now and evermore a conscious existence, and thus prepared to enjoy throughout time and eternity communion with one who is very God of very God. To such a conception the Súfi never attained, for union with God to him seemed hopeless, and repudiating altogether, or ignorant of the true meaning of the Incarnation of the Son of God, his only aspiration was to become extinct in the Primal Intelligence, the goal of all his efforts.

He believed :—

"In that glory is no 'I' or 'We' or 'Thou'
'I' 'We' 'Thou' and 'He' are all one thing."†

He failed to realize the higher truth which inspires the Christian poet :—

"That each who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general soul,
Is faith as vague as all unsweet.
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet."

EDW. SELL.

RAJASEKHARA.

CHAPTER III.

Rukmini goes home—Description of the dwelling—Rajasekhara returns and seats himself in his office—Visit of relatives—The devotee who performs his own menial offices.

After mounting the steps the astrologer's wife and Rukmini in company proceeded straight up the street as far as the temple,

* Colossians i. 15—17.   † Gulshan-i-Raz.

where they turned into a side street on the right hand and walked for a short distance; when Rukmini, taking a couple of steps into an alley, stopped, and turning round, gently coughed twice. At this signal the astrologer's wife also stood still and looking back asked, "Shall I stop, dear?"

"Do, Somidavamagaru; I've made it necessary for you to go a long round-about to your home."

"How much of a round-about? I'll walk it in a minute."

"Please come back again after you go home."

"We're only poor folk—you must be kind to us, you know."

"What does that matter. Please come," said Rukmini moving on a few steps; when she again looked back and called out, "Oh, Somidavama! I forgot to tell you. When I go to the temple in the evening won't you come too?"

"Certainly; that I will," replied Somidavama.

Although neither the astrologer nor his ancestors had ever been in the habit of offering sacrifice, yet among those on Somidavama's side of the house at least there were not wanting some who performed their duty in this respect. It was, indeed, an undeniable fact that her own paternal grandfather had sacrificed and, by virtue of thirty and four sacrificial animals offered at the rate of one a year, had moreover, departed to the enjoyment of heavenly bliss with the courtezans of Elysium. The father of Somidavama did not himself sacrifice; but, being unwilling in any degree to lose the good name obtained by his father at such expense, he gave to his son the name Somayazulu, and to his daughter that of Somidavama.

After walking up the alley for a hundred yards Rukmini turned to the south, and passing two doors in that alley, entered the third house by the back way.

Among the houses of the period that of Rajasekhara was considered very handsome. On each side of the street door was an extensive *pial*. Between these two *pials* lay the depressed walk that led within. At the end of this walk was the lion-portal or front door. On each door-post, near the threshold, was picturesquely carved a lion crouching on the head of an elephant, in the act of crushing the frontal lobes. On each side, from the head-parts of these lions, there was carved, as far as the umbrella-board,* a vine decked with fruit and flowers. Upon the posts on each side

* A carved board placed above the doorway.

appeared wooden horses, extending their fore-feet towards the street as though about to leap down upon the passers by. On gala days they tie festoons of mango leaves to the feet of these horses. Upon the umbrella-board, in the centre directly between the two horses, was carved a lotus; and on each side of this as far as the horses extended a vine clad with pretty leaves and blossoms. At intervals were painted parrots, their claws resting on the vine, in the act of piercing the fruit with their beaks. Even the great nail heads on the street doors were chiseled over with a kind of flower.

Immediately on passing the entrance was a porch, and opposite this a great cistern. When it rained, the roof water from all sides poured into this cistern and found its way into the street through a drain under the street porch. On the north and south sides of this porch were two other porches facing each other. Of these the southern was the office-porch. During weddings and other entertainments the relatives and chief guests invited to partake of betel and leaf sat here in a group while music and dancing went on below. When, on other occasions, celebrities came to call, or when, after the mid-day meal, some time was spent over the *puranas*, or when pupils came to study, Rajasekhara was in the habit of sitting here. Adjoining the ends of this porch were two rooms; and, on the south side, a number of double doors in the wall which, when opened, admitted the cool mountain breeze to fan the perspiring company. Beyond these doors extended a lean-to; and beyond that again was a tiny area which feasted the eyes with many varieties of flowering plants. Within, on the three walls of the porch just named, large pictures were hung at the height of a man. Besides the Ten Incarnations, pictures of Krishna carrying off the garments of the shepherdesses and sitting in the branches of a cassia tree while they supplicated him with uplifted hands; dragging away the mortar to which he had been tied by his mother for stealing butter, thus suggesting the feeling of the *maddi* trees; and other delineations of his many pranks; Sivite pictures representing Kumaraswami killing Tarakassuru, Parvati slaying Mahisassuru, and Siva destroying Tripura; with a number of others of Ganesa, Sarasvati, elephantine Laxmi, and the Four-faced Brahm, decorated the walls. The porch on the north side was precisely similar, except that it had but one door, and that frequently closed. In this porch there were always one or two old palanquins hanging up. On the floor of the porch, close to the wall and covered up, stood a new palanquin used only when Rajasekhara

went to the suburbs, or any respectable persons asked the loan of it. Upon passing through the door of this porch into the north lean-to a large well appeared in the area. The windlass over this well was for ever creaking under the hands of neighbours who came for water. On the west side of the well, built apart from the house, were two hutches for storing rice in the husk. Near the well was a side door opening into the street—the very door by which Rukmini had just before entered. By the same way the neighbours came and went for water; and when, during the noon hour, the women of the vicinity came to call, or when it was necessary for the females of the household to go out while Rajasekhara was in his office, this entrance was used.

The four sides of the cistern within were flanked by four pillars carved in imitation of jack-fruit. In the western porch was a central inner door opposite that opening into the street, and immediately on passing this another porch appeared. This porch also had a door on the south side. Were we to pass through this door we would enter Rajasekhara's bed chamber. There stood in this room along the north wall from east to west a four-poster bedstead, its feet set in stone sockets. Around the bed hung musquito curtains and fringe, while between the posts were lacquered wooden caskets and salvers. A parrot's cage ornamented with lacquered fruits and flowers hung inside the curtains. The walls of the room were whitened with lime; and along them were arranged wall-bags, the fruit of Rukmini and her mother's diligence. A short distance above the wall-bags pretty rag parrots tied with thread to strings swayed in the wind. Kondapalli images and lacquered vases arranged on a shelf upon great pins driven into the wall served as ornaments to the room. To the nails which supported the wall-bags were fastened small pictures of the Ten Incarnations and other subjects; and on the south side hung a coronation of Sri Rama. When Rajasekhara woke from sleep his eyes would rest upon this object—and fall on another just beyond. The room was ceiled above with a handsome ceiling. Opposite the bedstead along the wall *kavadi*-boxes were arranged in a row on the lower shelf. In these boxes were kept common, every-day clothes, and Rajasekhara's Sanskrit books written on Bengal paper in the Nagara character. Against the western wall of the room stood a huge chest secured with a strong lock. In the small lock boxes which this chest contained were kept jewels, valuable cloths for wearing on feast days, and cash. When the nights were dark and there was much fear

of thieves, Rajasekhara would spread his bed on the top of this box and sleep there. To the south, between the chest and the shelf loaded with *kavadi*-boxes, was a passage leading into the area off this room. On entering the area by this passage a broad marigold bed feasted the eyes with buds and new-blown flowers. At a little distance to the left of this a jasamine vine crept upon a trellis; and, although not then in bloom (that being the wrong season), charmed the sight with a wealth of green shoots.

In the porch adjoining Rajasekhara's bedroom a parrot's cage was suspended from a beam. The parrot in it cried continually in a voice naturally sweet, "Who are they? Who are they?" "The cat's come—beat her! beat her!" "Greens here—garden greens" and other such expressions. A little further on were hung by strings to the same beam the Ramayana and other palm-leaf books. When at early dawn Rukmini rose from sleep, she was in the habit daily of taking the parrot from its cage, mounting it upon her hand, and teaching it all such sayings as "In her hand a butter pat."

Although it was not a common practice at that time to educate women, Rajasekhara, out of love for his daughter, had himself instructed Rukmini to such an extent that she was able to understand a new book without the assistance of others. Being of good natural ability she derived great benefit from this instruction, and even in her girlhood acquired wisdom and a knowledge of right and wrong. The neighbours seeing him teaching her, whispered in secret envy; but since Rajasekhara was a man of wealth, they did not dare to give voice to their sentiments. Neither did they keep entirely quiet. Gradually influencing a near relative of Rajasekhara's to whom he showed much deference because of his station, they got him on one occasion when a large company was present to broach the subject. "Sir," said he, "it certainly is not customary with us to educate girls; why, then, do you teach Rukmini to read?" Rajasekhara was a man who knew the benefits accruing from education. He was also acquainted with the fact that in no *sastra* is the instruction of women forbidden, and that the virtuous women of former times were persons of education. He accordingly gave the question of the old man due attention, and citing a few proof passages favourable to the education of females, asked the opinion of the assembly. Those present were all men who at heart hated the very term "education of women;" but after they had once ascertained the opinion of Rajasekhara they were not in the habit of saying anything in

opposition to it; so they flattered him that the advantages of such education were innumerable, and praised him for instructing Rukmini.

A few yards beyond the rope to which the parrot's cage was suspended opened a doorway to the western apartment of the house. This room was large—spacious enough to seat eighty brahmins at dinner. If viewed a short time before dinner was announced, there might be seen arranged along the two walls, stools at the distance of a cubit apart, and before the stools rows of designs drawn in lines of flour. In the north-east corner of this room was an altar built of plaster. Upon this altar was a coffer in which were kept the *salagrams** and utensils employed in the worship of the goddess Bhuvesvara.† On this coffer was laid, too, a copy of the blessed Ramayana, which Rajasekhara was always strict in using for the daily lessons. Here, having come from his bath and placed a stool before the altar, Rajasekhara would sit down, recite from the Ramayana, and perform his five-fold *puja*. On opening the door opposite the altar and passing out, was entered a paddock. There, built of brick and mortar, stood a shapely *tulasi* fort‡ some four feet in height. In this were cultivated with pious care a *laxmi* and a *krishna tulasi*. In the same vicinity at a little distance, a *tulasi* plat, just beyond perennial jasmine plants, and, close to these, a creeping vine trained upon a broad-leaved rosebay tree, afforded Rajasekhara the requisite leaves and flowers for divine worship. Here too, arranged in rows along the wall, were marigolds and lilies lovingly tended by Rukmini and her younger sisters. Within the kitchen area which joined hard to the south side of the west room, plantain trees feasted the eyes with their wealth of green shoots. Here, at the very foot of these trees, Rajasekhara was in the habit of taking his daily bath.

As stated above, Rukmini, having come from her bath, poured the water which she had brought from the Godaveri in her *chembu* upon the *tulasi* plant, performed her devotions, and after making a triple revolution in her wet cloth, went inside and changed the wet garment for a dry silk one. With a rouge-casket in one hand and in the other a box containing in its various compartments some grains of sandal-wooded rice, saffron, and rice flour, she came and sprinkled water on the altar at the base of the *tulasi* fort, cleaned it with her

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* A species of ammonite worshiped as a type of Vishnu. † Laxmi.

‡ A pedestal in the form of a foot in which is grown the *tulasi* bush.

hands, and sitting down drew with the rice-flour lotus designs and other curious convolutions, prettily setting them off here and there with touches of rouge and saffron, and gently singing the while in dulcet tones the "Fortune of the Island."*

In the meantime Rajasekhara, conversing on various topics with those who were with him and now and then asking again words lost in the noise of the many pairs of creaking shoes, came with several others to the house; where they, leaving their shoes in the passage, entered one by one and sat down in the office upon coloured rugs, while Rajasekhara himself leaned in a sitting posture against the south wall, fanning away with his upper cloth the perspiration caused by exhaustion consequent on walking in the sun. At this juncture, Nambi Rakhavacharya, pressing down the rising flakes of thick paste upon his forehead with his left hand, fixed his gaze upon Rajasekhara's face and rubbed his hands together with a bland smile as he said: "At present your honour doesn't show quite as much favour to Swami† as usual." Then rising he drew out from his cloth a wreath of oleander flowers, and remarked obsequiously as he gently dropped them into Rajasekhara's hand, "Your honour must be very good to Swami."

Rajasekhara received the gift with becoming reverence and asked, "Are there at present any feasts that should be observed in honour of our Janardanaswami?"

"In fifteen days," replied Rakhavacharya, "falls the 14th day of the month *Margasira*,‡ the time of full moon, and the holy stars of St. Mangayalvar and St. Panalvar in their order. Special feasts must then be observed. In another month Sagittarius will be in the ascendency. Throughout that month Swami should have daily feasts; and during the Samkranti¶ the feast of the Recital must be observed. In Sagittarius, too, comes the holy star of St. Tondaradippondialvar ‖ the twelfth day after full moon. On that day we must have a bigger feast even than Swami's."

"Does Swami have his breakfast and lamp regularly every day?"

"The two rupees your honour kindly gives monthly are insufficient for the breakfast. At present the Swamis are coming in large numbers. But I am keeping the thing going in a kind of way by

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* A song descriptive of Rama's adventures in Ceylon.

† Used here of the local deity; also, a priest. ‡ The ninth lunar month, Dec.—Jan.

¶ *Samkranti*, the transit of the sun from one sign to another. Here used of the sun's passage from Sagittarius to Capricornus.

‖ Canonized disciples of Vishnu. Of these *alvars* or saints there are twelve.

adding another rupee to the one your honour gives for the lamp—for I don't want any one else to have a share in its benefits. Swami has no cars at all. True, there is a *ponna* car *; but how full will it be to-morrow at the Recital. If not remedied this year, it will certainly fall to your honour's lot next. At any rate I thought it well to drop the matter in your ear beforehand, and so make this request."

"They say that a few days ago the priests in the temple quarrelled among themselves about something or other."

"A priest from Dvarakatirumala was sitting down after dinner, another on a visit from Pentaparda paid his respects to Bacchus and sat down too. One of them was a Tengali and the other a Vadahali; so they fell to bandying words as to whether the *pada*† may be placed under the triple mark or not."

"Did it end in mere words?"

"After a while their hands got mixed up slightly; but my brother and I stepped in and put a stop to it without letting it go any further."

"Has our Janardanaswami any land at all?"

"They say there are seven *putties*‡ of land; but a matter of five *putties* goes to the dancing women. The two *putties* that remain, also, belong not to Swami but to the priests."

"Why, there was no music or dancing in Swami's feast that came off the other day!"

"They ¶ don't come to every feast. They live in Rajahmundry, and it is very difficult to get bandies and come to all the trifling festivals. They come down only on the day of the car festival during the marriage of any swami. It is the custom to allow them a trifle of four rupees from the swami's substance for their daily expenses."

At that moment a fair-complexioned benedict of some thirty years of age dressed in white cloth and making his iron-shod stick ring again, walked familiarly from the hall into the porch preceded by a cooly carrying a bundle of clothes on his head, and there stopping said to the cooly, "You, Ramiga! take the bundle inside, call some one, and leave it in Rajasekhara's bedroom, d'ye

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* A representation of the *ponna* or cassia tree with Krishna perched in its branches surrounded by the shepherdesses whose garments he had stolen.

† A mark representing the foot of Vishnu, worn by his followers on the bridge of the nose beneath the *nama* or triple mark.

‡ The *puttie* equals about 8 acres ¶ *i.e.*, the dancing women.

hear?" Then thrusting every one aside he made his way through the company and seated himself on the carpet in front of Rajasekhara like one who had long known him intimately. Although Rajasekhara had never even so much as seen his face before, yet, deeming it improper to be impolite when a person of respectability came to the house, he half rose, motioned him to be seated with a graceful wave of the hand, and himself sliding back a little way, made the stranger welcome by inquiring if all were well at home; then, fearing that his visitor might be offended if he asked who he was, he fell silent. The person who had just arrived rolled his snuff box towards Rakhavacharya, and, taking possession of that worthy's box, threw away the pinch of snuff he had just shaken into his palm, took a fresh pinch with an air of nonchalance, snuffed up the half of it, and turned towards Rajasekhara with the remark, "Rajasekharagaru seems to have forgotten me."

"By no means," replied Rajasekhara, gazing at his face.

"Haven't recognized me yet. You saw me ten years ago in Rajahmundry at Ramamurtigaru's. I'm Vamaraju Bhiravamurti. We're all near relatives. The son-in-law of your worthy mother's aunt was actually the son of my maternal uncle's aunt one generation removed! The other day my elder brother Sambayyagaru spent a month at your house, and after he came back kept going on continually about the kindness you had shown him. He opened his box and showed us the cloths, too, that you gave him when he came away. When I saw them I was filled with ecstasy at the thought that you, one of our relatives, were in such a prosperous condition!"

An old fellow who was lying down in the next room, overhearing these remarks coughed, and came out crying, "Haloo, Bhiravamurti when did you come?"

"O ho! grandfather Prasadaravu, is it you? Pray, how long is it since you honoured the place with your presence?" said Bhiravamurti.

"I've been on the spot for the last two months. I came with the intention of merely paying our relative Rajasekhara a short visit. But I was unable to resist his importunity and so got caught here. Rajasekhara is the best one of all our relatives, I want you to know," said he sitting down.

"Grandfathergaru," said Rakhavacharya; "what relation is Rajasekhara to you?"

"You just heard our relationship, did'nt you? The brother-in-

law of this man's maternal uncle was step-brother to my daughter's mother-in-law."

While this conversation was going on a woman's voice was heard calling several times, "Seeta! Seeta!" On this Rakhavacharya joined in with "Sis! Seetama!" and added, "Your mother's calling for something inside." A brown little miss of about seven who was playing at *cowries* with other girls of her age in the verandah next the well, clad in a simple skirt and holding in her right hand the *cowries* that she staked at play, and in her left the bit of chalk with which she kept tally, sang out "Coming! coming!" and ran through the porch towards the door of the west room, making the bells upon her feet tinkle merrily. This little one was Rajasekhara's second daughter. Arrived there, Seeta stopped just outside the door and asked, "Mother, what did you call me for?"

"Tell father that dinner's ready and they may go and bathe," replied Manikyamba.

Manikyamba was Rajasekhara's wife. Although neither so intelligent nor so well educated as Rukmini, she was yet unmatched for cleverness in the management of her household affairs and for skill in the culinary art. In form she closely resembled her elder daughter except that her countenance was somewhat maturer and her complexion a shade darker. Although at least thirty-four years of age, seen from a distance she was an exact counterpart of the younger woman.

Just then Seeta came running back into the porch crying Papagaru, "mother says the dinner's ready and that you're to go and bathe," and proceeded to the well verandah to play at *cowries* as usual.

"Prasadaravugaru, perhaps you'll bathe. Come to the well. Bhiravamurtigaru, are you going to the Godaveri, or will you bathe yourself at the well?" Asked Rajasekhara rising.

"As this is *kartika* Monday I'll go to the Godaveri," replied Bhiravamurti.

At this the whole assembly rose, took leave of Rajasekhara, and proceeded to their several homes. Rajasekhara himself walked into the west room. Manikyamba, who was inside grinding sandal-wood on a stone, passed over to the door of the western area amid the jingling of toe-rings, and with one foot on this side of the threshold and the other in the verandah, stood with her right hand upon the door frame and called out, "Rukmini, your father's come to bathe; be quick and get him some water." Rukmini was engaged in cutting flowers for morning worship; but on hearing this summons

she cried, "Coming, coming?" brought the jasmine blossoms and *tulasi* flowers in a copper plate, hastily laid them on the altar, and went into the kitchen area to hand her father the water. Manikyamba placed some sandal-wooded rice in brass cups, and taking a looking-glass and an ash-box from their niche brought them in and placed them beside the stool that stood near the altar. At that moment there came from within a widow woman of the age of forty: She had thrown over her head a wet cloth wrung out, the pendant end of which served for a veil. Fixing a *bottu* on her forehead with some ashes from the grate, she brought some clean water in a pair of silver *chembus* and placed it by the stool. When Rajasekhara had finished his bath he let down and smoothed out his *juttu*, tied the end of it in a knot, put on his wet cloth which had been spread out to dry, and entering the room sat down on the stool before the altar. After performing the *achamana* he pinched off a little ashes from the ball, wet it in the water, and with the three fingers other than the little finger and the thumb, drew lines upon his forehead, shoulders, throat, stomach, and breast; then unlocking the shrine he placed the *salagrams* and images upon a salver and began divine worship by repeating some *mantras*. By this time all the others had come from bathing and seated themselves upon the stools arranged along the wall.

After all who were to go to dinner had gone in, Manikyamba left the garden, and, shutting the middle door after her, sat down in the bedroom to fold betel and leaf. Just then at the street door, "Rajasekharagaru! Rajasekharagaru!" were heard one after another a half-dozen calls like the cries of a rustic in the fields. Manikyambu called out from within, "Coming!" but before she could reach the spot there came a series of rousing thumps upon the door as an accompaniment to the shouts. When at last she unbolted the door there stood by the door-post a huge black shape with an old wrinkled face, the flat cheeks whitened by sweat mingled with ashes thickly daubed upon the forehead; earrings wagging; a head of white hair peeping out between the folds of an upper cloth in which it was wrapped; shoulders surmounted by a roll of black antelope hide, made bigger by the *darbha*-grass mat that was wrapped about the reddish tinted cloths within; and a shrivelled breast adorned with a hempen bag and a spouted pot tied to the fastening of the black hide, and hanging down over the right shoulder. As soon as the door was opened this form stalked straight into the west room and stopped in front of Rajasekhara.

"Sastrigaru, what is the name of your village?" cried Rajasekhara.

"Ours is Kanúragrahara," replied the Sastri; "our family name is Bulussu; my name is Perayya Somayazulu. Your fame is world-wide. Whether you give such abundant food to a dozen brahmins or bestow alms, yours is an existence useful to the world; but what is the life of such a worthless fellow as me good for?"

"This is *kartika* Monday; won't you stay till night?"

"I'm an old man—I can't stop just now."

"Somayazulugaru is fatigued; please go to the well and pour a few buckets of water over yourself. Dinner is just ready."

"Let your dinner proceed. I have a request to make—I must have food cooked by my own hand. If you will have a fire-place purified with a little cowdung and a few things got ready, I will bathe and do my cooking."

"There is no other fire-place. You must oblige us by joining in our meal."

"But I'm under engagement not to eat woman's cooking. The persons who cook for your household are men perhaps?"

"My niece prepared the meal. In our house none but women ever do the cooking."

"Alas, to say nothing of women's cooking, how am I to take food from a *niyogi?* If you will have a little rice and water put on the fire I'll come and remove it."

"It isn't convenient to-day; you must deign to bestow yourself somewhere else this morning," replied Rajasekhara.

"Ah, I have it," said Somayazulu reflecting a moment; "yours from the very beginning is an eminent ancestry. What a pious man was your grandfather! while your worthy father possessed a perfect knowledge of Brahm. I have no objection to eating in your house; but if I say that I have taken meals at one place they'll ask me to do the same at another. If I take my dinner here you must keep it a secret. This is *kartika* Monday, so I'll run down to the Godaveri and bathe, and be back in a moment. In the meantime please proceed with your dinner;" and Perayya Somayazulu placed his antelope's hide and hempen bag in the middle of the floor and went off to his bath. When he returned he spread the skin in the porch, unrolled his *darbha*-grass mat upon it, and sat down. Then thrusting his hand into his bovine mask*

* An imitation cow's face carried by such *byragis.*

he began telling his *rudraksha* rosary and repeating his orisons with shut eyes. When those who were seated inside before the leafen platters saw him hurry like a glutton and an opium-eater, and perceived that the rice and curry already served was growing cold, they came and called him repeatedly; whereupon Somayazulu quickly laid aside his taciturnity and came and took his place before a platter. Then all sprinkled the *aqua lustralis* * and proceeded to take their meal.

"There is no trace of Venkayya the waterman who brought us the good news from Rajahmundry," said Rajasekhara; "where is he sitting?"

"Here I am, sir," called out Venkayya; "behind Somayazulugaru, at the corner plate."

"This cooking is capital," remarked Somayazulu; "that of Nala and Bhima† is nowhere along side of it."

"Somayazulugaru," observed Venkayya, "the cucumber you cooked yesterday in the resthouse wasn't nearly so tasty as this, was it?"

"What resthouse?" asked Somayazulu.

"In Rajahmundry yesterday," continued Venkayya disregarding the question, "a merchant had a house-warming and gave a dinner to the brahmins. Bolli Perayya did the cooking. There Somayazulugaru and I sat in the very same row."

Thus familiarly conversing among themselves they took their dinner and, after washing their hands in the area off the west room, came into the porch and sat down. Though Somayazulu had really come with the intention of remaining several days, on the strength of what had occurred at dinner he was now unwilling to stay, and at once partook of betel and went his way without even so much as asking a gratuity.

J. Robert Hutchinson.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM IN TELUGU.

Some years ago, mention was made in the newspapers of a Committee having been formed for promoting the translation of the National Anthem into the various languages, of India; it was

* Holy water sprinkled about the plates with the repetition of a *mantra* to sanctify the food.

† Famous ancient cooks.

also intimated, on several occasions, that translations of our National Song into one or other of the Indian languages had been accepted and adopted by this Committee. Such an object is undoubtedly a desirable one, as there is nothing like song for familiarizing a people with an idea and, certainly, the notion that the bulk of the Indian people, of the common sort, have of their Empress Queen, far away across the "black water," is a very vague and misty one. In order to further this desirable project, the following translation was made into the sweet smooth Telugu, the "Italian of the East." When, however, the translation was made, the difficulty arose of finding the whereabouts of this Committee, and up to this time all enquiries made, both in this country and in England, have proved unsuccessful. Perhaps further enquiry may elicit the desired information, that is, if the Committee is still in existence; at any rate, the song is thus for the first time put before the public and, as far as one can gather, it is the first attempt of the kind in Telugu. It may be mentioned that every effort was made in the translation, to have the language simple, as that of a popular song should be, and for it to go "with a ring." Many competent judges, both Native and European, have been good enough to say that this object has been attained; of that, however, the readers will be able to judge for themselves. It has, for some time, been sung with great gusto by school children and others in Masulipatam. It is now put forth for general criticism by Telugu scholars.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

రాణిగారిని గూర్చిన శుభకీర్తన.

(*Tune—National Anthem.*)

ఓ దేవ రాణికిన్

చిరాయువున్ సదా

ఒసంగుమీ.

జయప్రకాశమున్

విశేషసౌఖ్యమున్

మహాప్రభుత్వమున్

ఒసంగుమీ.

ప్రభుండ దైవమా
మా రాణి శత్రులన్
అడంచుమీ.
విరోధితంత్రము
హరింప జేయుము
ఇహాన క్షేమము
ఒసంగుమీ.
ఘనంపు దానముల్
నిత్యంబు నామెకున్
ఒసంగుమీ.
సునీతి వర్తనన్
సుకీర్తినొందగాన్
సంగీత స్తోత్రమున్
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J. E. PADFIELD.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Types of Ethical Theory, by JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D., [Second notice.]

In our first notice of this work (in the February number) we pointed out that the first volume dealt with the unpsychological systems of Plato, Spinoza, and Comte. In these he failed to find a proper basis for a system of Ethics, because they did not provide man with a subjective free power. We shall now deal with Dr. Martineau's own theory, which is set forth in the first half of his second volume. It is distinguished from the theories of the first volume by being psychological. He is careful to point out that every psychological system does not fulfil the ethical conditions. All systems that are monistic fail to do this.

Dr. Martineau says :—

"It is further necessary that our psychology should be dualistic in its results, recognising, as in its doctrine of perception, so in its doctrine of conscience, both a *self* and an *other than self*. In perception, it is *self and*

nature; in morals it is *self and God*, that stand face to face, in the subjective and objective antithesis. I am deeply persuaded that no monistic scheme, whether its starting point be *self*, or *nature*, or *God*, can ever interpret, without distorting or expunging, the facts on which our nature and life are built."

In accordance with this view the essence of a psychological method is given as follows :—

"(1) It not only assumes reflective self-knowledge to be possible, but gives it precedence, in ethical relations, over other knowledge and proceeds thence into the scene around; and (2) it not only begins from the self-conscious man, as the better known, and treats the phenomena so found as genuine phenomena, but accepts also whatever these phenomena carry; and if they imply in their very nature certain objective assumptions, these reports, as contained within the known phenomena, it trusts as knowledge."

This postulate of Dr. Martineau's that reflective self-knowledge in ethical relations gives an *other than self*, namely God, has been and will be objected to. It will be said that this is not a psychological system, but a theo-psychological system. Many who will not be inclined to say that Dr. Martineau is wrong in regarding God as an authority above us, making our duty binding upon us from above, will yet think that there is a kind of gap here in his system. In the preface to these volumes there is a hint, that, in a sequel to this work, the author will deal with the aspect of the question that bears on religion. Here he is content with pointing out that "the first function of intelligence is to construe, not itself, but the scene in which it is placed, and apprehend its various contents. The eye sees, not vision, but light." "Subjective knowledge and objective are correlative and necessarily go together; the same act which reveals the ego reveals no less the non-ego." If the depositions of one faculty seem to contradict those of another, Dr. Martineau holds that each faculty is to be held supreme in its own sphere, and that any contradiction that may arise between one faculty and another, is only a seeming contradiction.

"The positive attestation of any faculty is to be held valid against doubts springing from the mere limitation and incompetency of another; as the ear is not qualified to contradict the eye, on the ground that the light is inaudible, neither is the perceptive power entitled to question the depositions of the moral, on the ground that the distinctions of right and wrong and the essence of binding authority cannot be conceived and expressed in terms of the senses.".

Dr. Martineau thinks that, if this is kept in view, our nature will condemn us to no real contradiction, though we will always have to struggle against the sceptical repugnance with which each lower faculty is apt to regard the witness of the higher. He thinks that, in the history of thought, there is too good reason for supposing that this struggle has been very insufficiently maintained, and that the witness of the higher

faculties has been too often sacrificed to the repugnance of the lower to believe the witness of the higher.

Psychological moralists have erred also by slurring the boundaries of the faculties, and confusing their authority. As Dr. Martineau says "There are many ethical systems, whose authors commence from a psychological starting point and are willing to accept the answers delivered in to our self-interrogation, but which, by some false turn in the examination, elicit misleading replies and confound the identity of our mental phenomena. They make out perhaps to their own satisfaction, that the *moral* differences which they are engaged in cross questioning are only *sensational* differences under skilful disguise; or, it may be, *intellectual* differences in an emotional form; or again, *aesthetic* differences brought with an *alias* into Court." With this kind of error Dr. Martineau deals after he has set forth his own system.

With his own system, based on the postulates and wrought by the method above indicated we now proceed to deal.

The problem of moral philosophy is to find the interpretation of the fact that,

> "Distinctively as men, we have an irresistible tendency to *approve and disapprove*, to pass judgments of right and wrong. Wherever approbation falls, there we connot help recognising *merit*: wherever disapprobation, *demerit*."

Having thus an irresistible tendency to pass moral judgments, the first question is tó decide what these judgments are rightly exercised upon. It is self-evident that our judgments have to do with persons. It is not objects of nature or products of art that we have to deal with. We may speak of approving them in a figurative way only. It is personal phenomena that call for judgment.

Then it is the inward spring of an action as distinguished from its outward operation. It is not the benefit an action may do, or the harm it may bring that are the true objects of our approbation, or disapprobation. As Dr. Martineau says "Benefit and mischief are in themselves wholly characterless." Here Dr. Martineau finds himself in agreement with Spencer, Stephen, Bradley, Green, and others. There is hardly room for difference here at all, as may be shewn by taking, as Dr. Martineau does, the analysis of the word *action* which is given by James Mill. An action may be regarded as consisting of these elements "(1) the sentiments whence it springs; (2) the muscular movement in which it visibly consists; (3) the consequences in which it issues."

It is the first of these that gives an action its moral quality; on it alone is the moral judgment properly directed.

When we come to the next question, we do not find the same agreement.

It is "whom do we first judge? ourselves or others? In what school do our moral sentiments learn their first lesson? in that of reflection? or of observation?" Here Dr. Martineau differs from the great majority of English moralists. Most of these say we learn by observation and judge the actions of others first, and afterwards ourselves. The expounders of the evolutionary hypothesis, seem to regard this order as inseparable from their scheme. Mr. Stephen says "The moral sense is according to me a product of the social factor," and again "The conscience is the utterance of the public spirit of the race, ordering us to obey the primary condition of its welfare." Yet Dr. Martineau shews, that this same moralist is inconsistent with his own theory, when he gives such an instance of moral judgment as the following:—

"The disgust which we feel for the excesses of others is a *direct result of the correlative impulse in ourselves.* We are shocked by the excess of the glutton, because our imagination is revolted, when we put ourselves in his place, and fancy ourselves consuming the same monstrous masses of food."

If this be so, then it is the inward consciousness that supplies the outward criticism, and Dr. Martineau claims this as pointing in the direction of his view. Dr. Martineau regards this point of the order of moral judgment as between ourselves and others as essential to sound moral theory. So it is necessary to give in his own words his opinion on this point and his way of guarding against misconception. He says "In saying that our moral estimates originate in self-reflection, I do not mean to maintain that a solitary human being could have them; or that there are two appreciable stages in our actual experience, first of self-judgment, and then, after an interval, of judgment directed upon others." He holds that the presence of others is a means of discovering us to ourselves, and sums up his conclusion thus:—

"The self-consciousness is elicited by the image we see of ourselves on the theatre of life; but, thus awakened, it carries with it, of its own inherent essence, the self-judgment in which moral sentiment consists; and the judgment passes on to others, simply as implicated in the same nature with ourselves. Upon this principle I should be inclined to fix, as the most certain test by which to discriminate true from false theories of morals."

He falls back on the previous part of his analysis, which points to the inner spring of the action as the proper object of moral judgment and points out that "this is not apprehensible by any external observation, but can be known, in the first instance, only by internal self-consciousness." And this can be seen to underlie our judgment of others by the following consideration. If looking at the consequences of the action of another we should pass condemnation upon his act, we pass from condemnation to approval, when we find that the motive or inner spring of the action was right. Whereas, on the other hand, if an act of ours,

known by us to be done from a wrong motive, should still have such effects as to get us the approval of those who don't know our motive, that will make no difference to our self-condemnation. Thus our moral judgments of others proceed, in the mature moral consciousness, from the principles according to which we have first judged ourselves. It is right to say "in the mature moral consciousness." But what is true of the mature moral consciousness may not be so true of the undeveloped consciousness. We all have to act long before we begin to form moral theories. And in our early action, the outer effects of our actions and of the actions of others may have more influence upon our judgments than the inner spring, or may at least have an influence upon our judgment as well as the inner spring. So also we may in the earlier stages of experience judge others before ourselves, and pass upon ourselves the judgment we first pass on others. It is necessary to keep these distinctions in view, and to bear in mind that it is the mature moral consciousness that Dr. Martineau deals with.

Dr. Martineau in his account of the objects of moral judgment goes on to point out, that what we judge in our judgment of action is not mere spontaneity, but volition, and gives the distinction between these as follows :—

"However else they may differ, one distinction is evident at first sight: in the spontaneous state, a single impulse is present; in the voluntary not less than two . . . . . The latter implies undeniably *an end in view;* and no end can bring itself into view except in relation to some other to set it off into distinctness for our contemplation."

If it be the inner spring of an action that we pass judgment upon, it cannot be judged if it is the only thing there. And thus our author is led to another of his rules :—

"That a plurality of inner principles is an indispensable condition of moral judgment."

The next rule he lays down is that this plurality of inner principles or tendencies must be (*a*) "simultaneous *inter se;* and (*b*) they must both be possibilities to us." If they were not simultaneous, the first to enter the field would have a clear stage and so take effect at once. Were they not possibilities to us, then moral judgment is altogether an illusion, as then nothing would be possible except the actual. This of course opens a large question, but Dr. Martineau does not take it up. He says "We cannot pause to pursue through its subtle windings the controversy between liberty and necessity." This is his conclusion :—

"Moral judgment, then, postulates moral freedom; and by this we mean, not the absence of foreign constraint, but the presence of a personal power of preference in relation to the inner suggestions and springs of action that present their claims."

The next thing dealt with is the mode of moral judgment, or the determination of how the mind proceeds in estimating its own impulses and volitions:—

"Every verdict implies preference; every preference comparison; every comparison things compared, and grounds of resemblance and difference between them."

It is the appearance of two incompatible impulses at once that awakens the moral consciousness within us. The impulses must not only be different but must be at strife with each other. And when they enter the mind together we are at once conscious of a difference between them other than that of mere intensity. We feel at once that one is higher and worthier than the other. Dr. Martineau says:—

"This apprehension (of difference in worth) is no mediate discovery of ours, of which we can give an account; but is immediately inherent in the very experience of the principles themselves—a revelation inseparable from their appearance side by side. By simply entering the stage together and catching the inner eye, they disclose their respective worth and credentials."

This difference between the two incompatible impulses entering the mind together is marked by Dr. Martineau by saying that the one is of higher *moral worth* than the other. He regards that which these words designate as ultimate and essential. Then he carries the same way of looking at the first two incompatible impulses to the consideration of all possible impulses:—

"The whole ground of ethical procedure consists in this: that we are sensible of a *graduated scale* of excellence among our natural principles, quite distinct from the order of their intensity, and irrespective of the range of their external effects."

Whereas Mr. Leslie Stephen says, "each instinct has its voice in determining the action of the federal government; but no one is allowed to take the command exclusively, without reference to the wishes of the others," Dr. Martineau would say "each instinct has its voice in determining the action of the supreme executive; but no one is allowed to take the command except of its subordinates, without deference to the orders of its superiors."

The place of each impulse in this graduated scale of excellence is seen by conscience. There will be differences in consciences just as there are differences in ear for music, as is pointed out. But till there is a sensibility to other differences than those of pleasantness among the springs of action there cannot be said to be an awakened moral sentiment at all.

Dr. Martineau throws light upon his doctrine of conscience and moral judgment generally by comparing and contrasting it with prudential judgment. Prudence regards the effects of action upon us, while moral judgment regards the springs of action within us. Thus it comes about

that prudence is an affair of foresight, while moral judgment is an affair of insight and has a regard only to worth. The consequences of an action are of two kinds :—

"First, there is the direct gratification of the impulse whence the action proceeds; and secondly, there are the indirect and collateral consequences reflected back upon us from the world around on which the act is thrown and where it sets new agencies at work."

If we were to regard only the first consequence, the mere gratification of the impulse, we might distinguish prudence from duty in this way: "prudence is self-surrender to the strongest impulse; duty is self-surrender to the highest. And whoever would show that the two principles concur, must prove coincidence between the scale of strength and the scale of excellence."

Dr. Martineau's discussion of the various degrees of conflict between the prudential and the moral scales in diffierent minds, and of how they may kill each other out, or come to be reconciled by the worthiest becoming the strongest through repeated victory, is very interesting. But it cannot be taken up in a short article.

We must now consider Dr. Martineau's view of right and wrong in action. We have seen that, according to him, morality arises from conflict between impulses of diffierent degrees of worth and strength. The strongest are not the worthiest. But though strength cannot tell worth, conscience does it, and makes us to feel God above us, thus bringing in or making felt the authority of a person higher than we. Dr. Martineau investigates the springs of action and classifies them according to their worth. That is rather a difficult task, but it is one whose performance is felt by many perplexed minds to be urgently required. This perplexity finds expression in Clough's reference to his own boyhood :—

"A thousand thoughts within me stirred
Of which I could not speak a word;
Strange efforts after something new
Which I was wretched not to do;
Passions, ambitions lay and lurked,
Wants, counter-wants obscurely worked
Without their names, and unexplained."

Dr. Martineau's list may be regarded as an effort to give the wants and counter-wants their name and relative place. He claims no finality for his list. Here we give it with his word of explanation as follows :—

"The following list presents the series in the ascending order of worth; the chief composite springs being inserted in their approximate place, subject to the variations of which their composition renders them susceptible."

Lowest.

1. Secondary passions;—censoriousness, vindictiveness, suspiciousness.
2. Secondary organic propensions;—love of ease and sensual pleasure.

3. Primary organic propensions;—appetites.
4. Primary animal propension;—spontaneous activity (unselective).
5. Love of gain (reflective derivative from appetite).
6. Secondary affections (sentimental indulgence of sympathetic feelings)
7. Primary passions;—antipathy, fear, resentment.
8. Causal energy;—love of power, or ambition; love of liberty.
9. Secondary sentiments;—love of culture.
10. Primary sentiments of wonder and admiration.
11. Primary affections parental and social; with (approximately) generosity and gratitude.
12. Primary affection of compassion.
13. Primary sentiment of reverence.

Highest.

Dr. Martineau does not conceal from himself that the task of drawing up such a list of the springs of action according to their worth, is a very intricate one.

"All he claims for it is to regard it as a tentative in the direction which I am persuaded affords the only hope of a doctrine true at once to the inward and the outward experience of mankind."

It cannot be appreciated rightly without a perusal of the discussion of the various parts of it in their relation to each other, as that is given by the author. But the mere table, and the explanations of the author's method and doctrine given above, will enable us to understand the definition of Right and Wrong that our author arrives at. All moral action in his view involves comparison of higher and lower. So an action in which the higher spring is followed at the expense of the lower, is a better action than would result from the following of the lower at the expense of the higher. Or, to put it in algebraic form: If A represent the following of the higher spring, and B, the following of the lower, we say then, not, that A is good absolutely, but, that A is better than B. This is the form in which Dr. Martineau puts his rule:—

"Every action is Right, which, in presence of a lower principle follows a higher; every action is Wrong, which in presence of a higher principle follows a lower."

We have thus reached a definition of Right and Wrong. It would not be fair to say that Dr. Martineau supposes, that by a use of his table and rules all action can have its worth decided at a glance, or that men will be able to decide in all emergencies without hesitation if only they have Dr. Martineau's table and rules at their finger ends. Human life is very complicated. The conditions for one man, within and without, are so very different from the conditions for another man. There will be many positions in which a man will be placed, that will perplex him sorely enough in action. Yet Dr. Martineau's moral theory, we think,

is in the main sound, and true to human nature rightly understood, and to human experience rightly interpreted. And no one with a desire to act rightly will read attentively this theory without being the better for it, whether he agree with Dr. Martinean in every detail or not.

It is right to observe that though Dr. Martineau regards the benefit or mischief resulting from an action as in themselves characterless, he yet admits that there are many occasions in which action must be decided by a regard to consequences. These are his closing words in dealing with his own theory :—

"There are cases in which one and the same principle has the choice of several possible actions ; and among these the election must be made by the balance of pleasurable and painful effects. There is no question of duty which will not find its place under one or other of these two rules, of which the first might be called the canon of principles, and the other the canon of consequences; the former being the true ethical criterion, determining the morality of an act ; the latter, the rational criterion, determining its wisdom."

Modern British Wisdom. Containing the general principles of Morality and Religion stated in the choicest and most convincing and effective words of eminent English authors from Chaucer to the present time : with Telugu translation, elaborate explanations in Telugu, English and Sanscrit equivalents &c. By R. SIVASANKARA PANDIAH, B.A., Madras "Excelsior" Press, 1886. Eight annas. Hindu Excelsior Series, No. iv.

To the reviewer there is something eminently satisfactory in the above title. It leaves little to be said. It obviates the necessity of a sketch of the contents. As for the rest, we have only to say that the remarks we have made on former volumes of this little unpretentious series might be quoted almost *verbatim*. We admire the motive ; we regret the failure. In certain respects however it is better than No. iii. The passages quoted are more likely to serve his object, and as they are clearer the book is marred by fewer blunders. We have marked many of these, but space prevents our referring to them.

Graduated Translation Exercises—English-Persian : Persian-English, Part I. by L. A. STAPLEY. B. Banerjee and Co., Calcutta—1885.

This is one of a series of books for teaching English. It is neither better nor worse than compilations of its kind and may be of some use in the hands of untrained teachers. The English is apparently the same in the English-Persian, in the English-Sanscrit and so on with the other languages. The Persian consists of a number of simple sentences to be translated into English which are arranged with a view to teaching English, not Persian for which indeed it is not suitable.

Vernacular Picture Alphabets. Home Series. Arranged by V. Krishnama Chariar, Fellow of the University of Madras. Printed by Ruddiman Johnston and Co. Lt.; Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

We cannot but feel a certain amount of satisfaction that it is on account of some remarks which we made in the first number of this magazine that Mr. Krishnama Chariar has been induced to bring out these vernacular picture alphabets. The two numbers of the series which we have received—Tamil and Telugu—are very creditable specimens of this kind of work, and will we are sure, be welcomed by the children who are fortunate enough to learn their alphabets from them. Small as the books are it must have cost Mr. Krishnama Chariar a considerable amount of care and attention to prepare them, while the colour printing renders the production somewhat expensive. Still we cannot but think that it is a mistake to charge so much as 5 annas each for them. We can easily believe that it is impossible to produce a small edition at a lower price; but if we are not mistaken these little books could be sold by the thousand without the least difficulty, if the price was reduced to say two annas or two and a half annas. The way in which these alphabets have been received shows how eagerly they would be bought, and now that a beginning has been made others are sure to produce similar books with the sole object of making money. In the letter which we print elsewhere Mr. Krishnama Chariar holds out the hope that future editions will be cheaper, and we trust that a second edition will be called for so quickly that he will see that he can safely print an edition so large that the cost of production will be very much reduced. We wish him every success with this and future numbers of the series.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

At the convocation of the Madras University held on the 25th March, the address to the graduates was delivered by H. E. The Right Hon'ble M. E. Grant Duff, the Chancellor of the University.

Mr. Grant Duff took this opportunity of addressing the educated part of the community on the subject of the special opportunities which they, as educated men, had of working for the good of India. After a few words of introduction the old question, "now that you have got your degrees, what do you purpose to do?" led at once to the subject in hand. This question has been put again and again and has been answered more or less satisfactorily by men of very diverse views, but we doubt if it has ever, in a convocation address at least, been dealt with so fully or so ably as on the present occasion. One of the first answers that suggests itself to the young graduate is, 'I will try to get into government service.'

This opens the question of how many appointments now held by Europeans might be and ought to be held by natives. On this Mr. Grant Duff says:—

"We may assume, however, quite safely that more appointments, and, especially, more of the better appointments will be gradually opened to natives, but, after all, the number of good appointments in this country, or continent, is and will continue to be surprisingly few. The overwhelming majority of appointments under Government is already in possession of natives........"

This is a point of view of the question that is too often overlooked. The policy of opening many posts formerly occupied by Europeans to natives is one that commends itself to all who are competent to form an opinion on the subject, the rate at which the substitution of the one class for the other is to proceed must depend to a large extent on the way in which our graduates show themselves capable of performing the responsible duties of such offices:—

"The main object of the Indian, as of every other civilized Government, must be, to get for the country which it governs the best possible administration at the cheapest rate. To that object all minor considerations, such as questions of race or colour, must be subordinated."

If we understand Mr. Grant Duff aright, what he would like to see would be a much smaller number of European officials but these chosen from men of marked ability—not merely men who can pass a stiff examination—by some method which will insure that the right men are chosen—men who have a soul above the mere petty details of officialism, in which so many at the present time find their chief delight. Passing to other than government appointments a few remarks were made on education and law, which every year absorb a large number of graduates. In civil engineering there is room for many young men, for South India with its ninety thousand tanks on which its very existence may almost be said to depend, must always require the services of a large body of trained engineers. Medicine, too, is fortunately beginning to attract increasing numbers, but here there is room for a vastly increased number both of those with a full medical knowledge and of those "who have a certain tincture of European science, and who, accepting the methods of the Vythians, wherever they are sensible, and even wherever they are harmless, should push them aside only when they are distinctly and obviously mischievous." In sanitation there is a field in which all can work:—

"There are a thousand ways in which your co-operation might aid the Government to do things which no Government can do by itself. The annual mortality in this Presidency, for example, from fever alone, is very considerably over two hundred thousand. It distances the mortality from cholera, even in the worst cholera years,

Well, a great many of these lives could be quite certainly saved by the use of the Cinchona Alkaloids, and what is more, a prodigious number of other lives, which are not absolutely destroyed by fever, might be made much happier and more useful if only you would devote yourselves, when occasion serves, to spreading a knowledge of the virtues of the Cinchona Alkaloids amongst your less educated neighbours."

Again there is the improvement of Agriculture in which a real beginning has now been made through the influence of the Saidapet farm :—

"But I should like to see a much larger portion of the educated intelligence of South India directed towards the land, and engaged in what is, alike from its historical associations and from the nature of things one of the most dignified of all occupations, far more dignified, for example, than all but the higher grades of scriptory labour."

The scheme for technical education is intended :—

"Partly to draw into the stream of progress classes not now reached by almost any of our educational agencies, and partly to direct into more profitable channels a considerable amount of activity and intelligence, which now strains forward to a University degree, and finds it, when acquired the barrenest of barren honours."

Probably the part of the address which will be received with most criticism is that devoted to politics—"There is in India" Mr. Grant Duff says "but scant material for any politics, worthy of the name." The great political questions have for the most part been already fought out in England and the *results* are freely given to India. But "outside the sphere of anything that can properly be called politics, a perfect world of labour, deeply exciting and interesting" lies before the educated youth of India. Questions relating to religious and social customs have to be settled, and can be settled only by the people themselves. Local self-government, too, supplies a large field for intelligent activity but, "avoid touching our home political controversies even with your little finger."

"I have sometimes smiled to see sagacious advice given you by some of your own people outside this Presidency, as to the expediency of using both Conservatives and Liberals for the good of India, without allowing yourselves to be entangled in our contentions. Even so, I have thought, does the prudent and reflective moth propose to use the candle."

The last part of the address is taken up with considering how the educated men of the country may do something in return for all the stores of knowledge which they have freely received from the West.

"You have been drinking now for a generation at the fountains of European knowledge. It is time you should begin to give Europe something in return. The very smallest additions to the stores of the Western men of learning, coming from the people of Southern India, will be, I am sure, not only thankfully, but rapturously, received."

There are many interesting subjects waiting to be studied in South India. Men of science wish to know more of the Dravidians—of their history, their customs, their Religion; "I want the non-Aryan people of the South to tell us something about their institutions, which go back to a period, as compared with which the hoariest Indo-Aryan antiquity is as the news in Reuter's latest telegram." Educated men who have studied the methods by which such researches can be carried out might devote some of their leisure to investigating such questions as the Village Life of the South, to studying old manuscripts and coins, and in many other ways striving to recover whatever of Dravidian History is not lost past all hope of recovery. Others again might devote themselves to the study of natural history, for in this at least, the earnest student will find ample matter for research in directions in which perseverance will meet with a rich reward.

Of the University itself he said:—

"The machine is an excellent machine. It will want, doubtless, every few years a change here, and a change there, but the great improvements wanted are not in the machine, but rather in the way in which our people use it."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

What must ever differentiate this University from all other universities is, that it is placed in the midst of a huge Dravidian population.

We can make a pretty good guess as to what the East Aryan can do, when he has had 'all the chances.' We can hardly make a guess as to what the Dravidian may do. Very likely he will never be able to do work as good as that of the East Aryan, but it is almost certain that the best he does will be different in kind."

The whole address deserves the most careful study from our educated men—young and old.

The annual distribution of prizes at the Madras Christian College and Free Church Institution took place on the 26th ultimo. The Hon'ble Colonel J. H. M. Shaw-Stewart, R.E., presided. After prayer, the Principal read the Report of the College Council for 1885. After giving a short account of the accident to the new buildings the report pointed out that the loss caused by the accident would amount to between sixteen and eighteen thousand rupees, and that the appeal to old students and friends of the College had been responded to so liberally that there was good reason to hope that this, and the sum that was wanting at the time the accident took place, would be provided. The chief changes in the staff during the year are the arrival of Dr. J. R. Henderson, to take up the new appointment of Professor of Biology, the resignation of the Rev. G. Milne Rae—who has however returned to Madras as Secretary of the Free Church Mission—and the appointment of E. M. Macphail, Esq. as assistant to the Principal for one year. One of the most impor-

tant events of the year is the founding of the series of District Scholarships to which we referred in a previous number.

As regards finances—the total ordinary outlay was Rs. 78,700 toward meeting which a grant of Rs. 14,882 was obtained from Government while Rs. 46,924 was drawn in fees. That is, the Government grant amounted to 19 per cent. and the fees to 60 per cent. of the expenditure. In the University examinations the College retains its leading place. Fifty-three passed each of the three examinations—Matriculation, First in Arts, and Bachelor of Arts. In the last of these examinations one of the students of the College V. Anantasadasiva Aiyar stood alone in the First Class, while another Ahmed Hussain stood at the top of the second Class.

After the prizes had been distributed the Chairman delivered the following address :—

Dr. Miller, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Students.—I am glad that I have been invited to take the chair here to-night. I take for granted that it is to the fact of my being, like so many here present, a Scot abroad, that I owe the honour ; and as a Scotchman this realisation of the successful labours of my countrymen gives perhaps a keener pleasure to me than it could give to another. When I first came to Madras, thirty-two years ago, the name of Mr. Anderson, Dr. Miller's predecessor, was a household word here. Mr. Anderson was then head of the Free Church Mission School, and, with his successors, Mr. Braidwood, Mr. Campbell, and last, not least, Dr. Miller, helped to build up the Christian College of to-day. And to have done so, in the face of no ordinary difficulties, is an achievement of which any men may well be proud. Dr. Miller and those who have worked with him may be certain of this, that of all the benefits which England has conferred upon India, (and those are neither few nor slight), none are likely to have results so far reaching as those which will follow from their labours of love. If we look to the far future, when India, as I hope and believe she will, shall have in some measure recovered the place among nations which once was hers, it needs no prophet to foretell that, among our countrymen who will then be held first in grateful and affectionate remembrance by the people of India, will be those who, with Dr. Miller, have spent their lives in furthering India's best and highest interests. Many of England's noblest sons have earned well-won fame in India,—but when the time comes, as come it must, that India shall have gained sufficient strength to stand by herself, those among us whose names will be held most honoured and esteemed will be,—not the successful soldiers who have built up this great Indian empire,—not the able administrators who have consolidated it,—not the merchant princes who have helped to develope its vast resources,—but those who have spent toilsome and self-denying lives in striving to spread the fertilising waters of Western knowledge over this thirsty land, which has too long lain fallow. The interesting report which has just been read contains much that is in every way satisfactory. But before turning to it, I must first heartily congratulate the Christian College on the well-deserved honours which have fallen to the lot of its Principal since the last annual meeting. The mystic letters—LL.D. and C.I.E.—

are not perhaps of much intrinsic value, but the unanimity with which the announcement of their bestowal was hailed in Madras proved that for once the fountains of honour had flowed in the right direction. The report contains a long list of the honours which have been carried off at the recent public examinations by students educated here. That list speaks for itself; and I will content myself with offering sincere congratulations to the students on their successes, and to the College authorities on the distinguished positions which its alumni continue to hold. One of the most satisfactory features in the report is the announcement that a chair of natural science has been established. As in other cognate matters, the first step in this direction has been taken by the Christian College, greatly to the honour of its liberal management. The ever increasing usefulness and popularity of this Institution are placed beyond doubt by the figures given in the report. In spite of the determination which was expressed in the report for 1884 to keep the numbers, for school and college, within a total of about 1,400, it has not been possible to prevent them rising to nearly 1,600;—while the receipts from fees have made a jump from Rs. 37,300 in 1884 to nearly 47,000 in 1885. One part of the report which I read with particular pleasure was that which described the growing popularity of the gymnastic classes, and the success of the cricket club in becoming the first holders of the challenge trophy which has been so liberally presented for competition by our schools. Let me express the hope that the club will again be successful this year, after as hard a fight as they had last year. While it tells so much that is satisfactory, it would indeed be strange if this report, dealing as it does with an institution of human origin, did not also contain something of an unwelcome nature; and I am sure that I express the feeling of all present when I say that we sympathise deeply with Dr. Miller and his colleagues in the serious disaster which has befallen the new building, and which has made it impossible to hold this meeting in the spacious and handsome hall built for the purpose. But the disaster which we deplore is not irretrievable; and I have every confidence that, under Mr. Chisholm's skilled guidance, the tower will rise again, to fall no more. And even the great calamity of last November is not without its redeeming features, for the fact that no life was lost by the fall of the mass of masonry is assuredly cause for sincere thankfulness; while the liberal manner in which subscriptions to retrieve the disaster have been promised by old students must be highly gratifying to the Principal and his colleagues.

Before sitting down I wish, with Dr. Miller's permission, to say a few words to the students in this College, chiefly to those who are about to leave it. Especially, gentlemen, I beg you to bear in mind that it is on you, and such as you, that the responsibility for India's future rests. These are no empty words. You are citizens of an ancient country—a country which had made progress in the arts of war, and in the far greater arts of peace, at a time when America was undreamt of, and when most of the nations in Europe had hardly emerged from a state of savagery. We western races are perhaps rather apt to lose sight of the fact that the first streams of intellectual thought and of civilisation which reached us came from the east,—and if the current has now turned, and flows strong from west to east, that fact only shows that the western races are at last able to

return, with interest, the boon they received many centuries ago. If we look into the history of the past, and see that India, unaided by western culture, was able to produce, poets and law-givers such as the unknown authors of the Mahabharata, and of the Institutes of Manu,—reformers such as Sakyamuni,—and rulers such as Akbar,—we may well be hopeful when we look forward to the future, after the seed which is now being sowed, shall have borne abundant fruit. If I enlarge on this point it is with no desire to flatter you, but rather to impress on you some sense of the deep responsibility under which you lie, —responsibility to your country, and responsibility to your teachers. And at the present moment there is, perhaps, no way in which you can better show your appreciation of that responsibility, than by taking on you, so far as in you lies, the part of faithful interpreters between the Government and the people of this great country; explaining and interpreting to the people the acts and the intentions of the Government. That their acts and measures should be placed beyond the reach of fair and honest criticism cannot be the desire of the Government; indeed, it is only by means of such criticism that they can hope to ascertain the feelings and wishes of a large section of the people. But fair and honest criticism differs widely from wilful misrepresentation; and it has been sometimes seen that wise measures, devised solely for the public good, run great risk of being misunderstood, in consequence of such misrepresentation, and of the dense ignorance which unfortunately prevails in such matters. It is in correcting that misrepresentation; and in dispelling that ignorance, that the Government are entitled to expect from you, and such as you, that you will act the part of faithful interpreters to those among your countrymen who have not had your advantages. In such matters the educated classes can do much; and if each one of you were honestly to endeavour to enlighten some of those around him, and to dispel some of the ignorance in his immediate neighbourhood, much good would in time result. The following words were lately spoken by one of your most distinguished countrymen:—"Let your thought and action be always guided by a profound feeling of loyalty to our gracious sovereign and to the British nation, to whom you owe a debt of gratitude which you can never adequately repay. Look to the past, and compare it with the present, and say to what else you owe, if not to the British rule, the era of peace, of progress, of freedom, and of material prosperity, which has dawned upon India." In proof that the Government have no desire to set their measures above the reach of criticism, I need only point to the fact that India enjoys the privilege of a free press. Long may it be before that privilege is taken from her; but the enormous benefits which a free press confers are not without alloy; and you should make it your duty to use what influence and authority may fall to your lot in striving to raise the character and the tone of the native press; and by correcting its misapprehensions, and softening down its exaggerations, make it a temperate and trustworthy exponent of the feelings and opinions of your fellow countrymen. Let me also urge, as earnestly as I can, that it is incumbent on every one of you to let slip no opportunity of spreading the blessings of education among the many millions of your less favoured countrymen and countrywomen. Few words are there of truer or higher import than those four which the Mantuan poet

affixed to Cæsar's palace—*sic vos non vobis*. Do not imagine that it was to secure your education and your advancement alone that Dr. Miller and his fellow workers left their country,—or that it has been with that one object they have spent many long years beneath a tropical sun, far from home and friends. To quote your Principal's own eloquent words—" You cannot imagine even for one moment that all the expenditure of wealth and time and strength on the part of those who have contributed directly or indirectly to your training, will have attained its end if you arrive at distinction or at power; you so few, and when considered merely by yourselves so utterly insignificant, compared with the teeming millions round you. No—you have been enlightened in order that through you those millions may be blessed." If you owe a vast debt of gratitude to your teachers, and that is a point on which you at least can have no doubt,—believe me there is no way in which you can begin to discharge that debt, which will give greater pleasure to those to whom you owe so much, than by doing what lies within your power to bring the blessings of education within reach of the masses of India. I do not speak of the higher education,—that is an exotic which may well be left to take care of itself. Now that it has taken root in the soil, and that its fruits are seen to be of so great value, there is little fear of its cultivation being neglected. Nor do I speak specially of the education of women,—the necessity for which has been of late pleaded so earnestly and so eloquently, that it is not likely to be soon lost sight of. What I would now press on you, as your chief duty and privilege, is that you leave no stone unturned which may help to raise the level,—the moral level as well as the intellectual level,—of the lower classes in India. This is a field in which the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. The work to be done is gigantic; and although the Government have no wish to disclaim responsibility, that responsibility must be shared to some extent by every educated Native in India. And unless the educated classes accept their share of responsibility, and do what in them lies by the exercise of influence, of example, and of liberality, to help forward the good work, the prospect of bringing the rudiments of education within reach of the masses must remain distant. Take to heart the sacred precept, " Freely ye have received, freely give."

SCIENCE JOTTINGS.

Prof. Rowland has been engaged for some three years on a very elaborate photographic map of the solar spectrum, which is now nearly ready for publication. The map will be issued in seven plates each three feet long and one foot wide. It will extend from wave length 3100 to wave length 5790. The photographs were taken with one of his own concave gratings 6 inches in diameter and having a radius of curvature of 21½ feet. No telescope or lens is required in this system. The map will, in some respects at least, excel any that has yet been produced.

The John Hopkins University has recently erected very fine laboratories for the Chemical and Biological departments and the buildings are now being rendered complete by the addition of a Physical laboratory. Below the basement and in the centre of the building there will be several rooms for instruments which require to be used at a constant temperature, such as Professor Rowland's dividing engine by which his admirable diffraction gratings are made. In the basement are situated the mechanical workshops, furnaces, &c. In the first floor is a lecture room for 150 students, and some rooms for research work carried on by the more advanced students. The second floor will contain another lecture room, studies for the instructors, and a library of physical and mathematical works. The third floor will contain a laboratory for elementary work, while special rooms for optical researches will be on a fourth floor. In one corner of the building there will be a tower terminating in a dome for astronomical work. The building will be fitted with every appliance for carrying on research.

The following table shows the mean Meteorological conditions of several stations in different parts of India for the month of April.

Station.	At 10 A. M.			Resultant wind direction of the month and percentage of prevalence.	Wind velocity of the month. Miles per hour.	Rainfall of the month. Inches.
	Barometer. Inches.	Thermometer. F°	Humidity. Percentage of Saturation.			
Delhi	29·789	90·3	28	41 N. 65° W.	4·0	0·38
Allahabad	·798	94·6	29	25 N. 52° W.	2·9	0·15
Silchar	·903	80·1	73	21 S. 86° W.	3·4	12·67
Darjeeling	22·981	56·9	71	55 S. 73° W.	?	3·71
Dacca	29·843	86·0	69	60 S. 4° E.	6·8	5·85
Calcutta	·846	87·2	65	73 S. 3° W.	7·6	1·96
Nagpore	·816	96·3	23	20 N. 63° W.	5·0	0·44
Indore	·840	92·2	17	55 N. 61° W.	4·8	0·13
Jeypore	·814	92·7	22	54 N. 42° W.	6·4	0·23
Kurrachee	·875	84·9	58	68 N. 87° W.	14·1	0·17
Bombay	·906	85·7	68	58 N. 61° W.	11·3	0·03
Poona	·864	91·3	20	49 N. 35° W.	10·1	0·56
Belgaum	·869	87·6	30	25 S. 88° W.	4·4	2·02
Secunderabad	·874	91·4	31	11 S. 6° W.	5·2	0·73
Vizagapatam	·883	87·6	62	64 S. 48° W.	4·1	0·61
Bellary	·849	92·0	36	16 S. 51° W.	5·4	0·80
Madras	·902	90·1	56	83 S. 40° E.	8·0	0·66
Salem	·924	89·4	55	37 S. 14° W.	5·2	2·07
Wellington	24·267	71·4	50	63 S. 43° E.	?	3·21
Coimbatore	29·912	86·2	57	53 S. 21° E.	3·5	1·90
Trichinopoly	·916	90·8	51	18 S. 50° E.	4·1	1·95
Negapatam	·903	89·3	62	79 S. 36° E.	5·0	1·03
Cochin	·921	86·8	71	53 N. 89° W.	?	4·37
Mercara	·866	77·5	65	49 N. 71° W.	4·4	2·28
Bangalore	·873	82·9	53	52 S. 33° W.	3·4	1·32
Colombo	·921	84·8	77	62 S. 67° W.	5·3	9·19
Rangoon	·919	87·9	62	58 S. 18° W.	6·0	1·95

Note.—The barometer readings are reduced to 32° F. and, except for Darjeeling and Wellington, are all reduced to sea level.

Mr. D. Morris who was for some time in Ceylon and afterwards became Director of the Public Gardens, Jamaica, has been appointed Assistant Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in succession to W. T. Thiselton Dyer, C. M. G., F. R. S. who was promoted to the post of Director on the resignation of Sir Joseph Hooker.

A good deal has been written of late regarding the possibility of "Mahwa flowers" becoming a cheap source of cane sugar. The mahwa flowers are the corollas of *Bassia latifolia* which abounds in some parts of India. Each tree yields from 6 to 8 maunds of flowers and in some cases even more, and as they are eaten both fresh and dried they form an important part of the food of the poorer classes in some districts. An intoxicating liquor, too, is distilled from the flowers in immense quantities and it is partly, we believe, with the hope of diminishing this manufacture that it has been proposed to use the flowers for sugar making. But an important point has been omitted in discussing the question. We know that the flowers contain from 50 to 60 per cent. of sugar, but is that cane-sugar (sucrose), or is it invert-sugar (dextrose and levulose)? for only the former is of much commercial value. A recent analysis made by Mr. A. H. Church of some dried flowers showed only 3·2 per cent. of cane-sugar against 52·6 per cent. of invert-sugar. It is not possible to affirm with certainty that much more cane-sugar would not be found in the fresh flowers but Mr. Church considers it probable that "the saccharine matter of fresh mahwa flowers will be found to consist mainly of dextrose and levulose and that consequently they will not be available as a material for the economic production of sucrose."

With reference to the remark made last month that a new nebula had been discovered in the Pleiades in photographs taken by the Brothers Henry, it may be of interest to mention that it has since been seen with the great Pulkova refractor. The Messrs. Henry failed in all attempts to see it with their telescopes.

It has also been announced by Professor E. C. Pickering that certain peculiarities, which at the time were taken to be simply defects, appeared in a photograph of the Pleiades taken at Harvard College on November 3rd 1885. These are now seen to be an impression of the new Nebula. The same photograph shows traces of the Merope and Electra Nebulae.

The Bakerian Lecture for 1885 "on the corona of the sun" by Dr. Huggins was originally read at a meeting of the Royal Society on June 11th and is now published in the *Proceedings*. The lecture opens with an account of the sun's position amongst the stars as regards temperature, indicating that no other star shows a true corona. It then goes on to discuss the relative brightness of the corona, pointing out that the

mere fact that the planets Venus and Mercury appear black against it shows that "the part of the sky about the sun, behind which the corona is situated, and to which its light is added, is brighter than the adjoining parts, in a degree not far removed from the eye's power of distinguishing adjacent areas which differ by a small degree of brightness." To see the corona, then, all that is required is to give the coronal light a slight advantage over the air glare which obliterates it. So far it is doubtful if the corona has ever been seen except during eclipses.

But though we cannot actually see the corona Huggins has shown that we can photograph it, by taking advantage of the circumstance that the coronal light is peculiarly rich in the violet and ultra violet rays. In 1882 Huggins obtained his first photographs of the corona by absorbing all the rays except the violet by passing the light through a cell containing a suitably coloured liquid. This method has now been replaced by the simpler one of taking the photograph on a plate coated with chloride of silver which is particularly sensitive to rays lying between *h* and H.

In England there are not many days in the year on which the air is clear enough for work like this, and so, in 1884, arrangements were made to send a photographer with the necessary apparatus to the Riffel near Zermatt.* The amount of glare present during the whole time even at that elevation interfered greatly with the work and the results obtained were by no means satisfactory. Doubts have been thrown by certain astronomers on the reality of the photographs obtained by Dr. Huggins. They contend that the coronal appearance is due to scattered light and not to the corona at all. This view, however, seems to be completely negatived by the fact that a comparison of drawings made from one of the photographs taken in England of the uneclipsed sun, with the photographs taken at the Caroline Islands of the eclipsed sun, in May 1883, shows an amount of agreement that cannot be admitted to be accidental. A very remarkable rift in the corona which appears in both is sufficient to prove the identity of the objects photographed. We must leave over till another number an account of Dr. Huggins discussion of the probable nature of the corona.

Two comets, Barnard's comet discovered on December 2nd and Fabry's comet discovered on December 1st, are at present visible but only with telescopes of some power. Towards the end of this month, however, they should both be visible to the naked eye, and the very unusual phenomenon will be observed of two bright comets near each other. Barnard's comet should become visible not far from γ *Androme-*

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* See Vol. II, p. 554.

dæ, Fabry's in Cassiopeia. At the beginning of May the latter comet is expected to be very brilliant.

C. M. S.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

An article of some interest appears in this month's *Contemporary* from the pen of one who has earned the right of being listened to on any subject of literary criticism. The article is a comparison between Cardinal Newman, and Matthew Arnold, by R. Holt Hutton. The contrast between the two subjects being on the surface so much stronger than the similarity, the writer feels compelled at the outset to defend his attempt at comparison. Both are Oxonians, the one the most influential of the second quarter of this century, the other the most celebrated of the third quarter. Both are largely moulded by the influence and spirit of their University. Both are poets and in a sense both are theologians.

"Surely there is no greater marvel in our age than that it has felt profoundly the influence of both, and appreciated the greater qualities of both—the leader who with bowed head and passionate self-distrust, nay, with 'many a start of prayer and fear' has led hundreds back to surrender their judgment to a Pope whose rashness Dr. Newman's own ripe culture ultimately condemned—and the poet who in some of the most pathetic verses of modern times has bewailed the loss of the very belief which, in some of the most flippant and frigid diatribes of modern times he has done all that it was in his power to destroy."

After showing by quotation from both that their styles are characteristic of the men, Mr. Hutton proceeds to discuss with some minuteness the character and the man, occupying the present article with Newman and leaving for another paper the task of discussing Arnold.

"The whole history of his early life shows how absurd is the view which has sometimes been taken by able men that Newman's life has been a continuous struggle against a deep rooted scepticism. No one can read his long series of sermons, and his remarkable though much shorter series of poems, and still less re-read them by the light of his lectures 'On Anglican Difficulties' his 'Apologia,' and his 'Grammar of assent' without being profoundly convinced that the Roman Catholic in Newman is as deep as his *thought*, the High Churchman as deep as his *temperament*, and the Christian as deep as his *character;* being intertwined with it inextricably; nay not only intertwined, but identified."

After a brief glance at the spirit which underlay his action and the ruling ideas which moulded his life in his pre-Roman Catholic days, the writer faces the question "where did he go wrong?"

"It seems to me that he went wrong in his primary assumption, that what he calls 'the dogmatic principle' involves the existence of an infallible human authority, which can say, without possibility of error, 'this is what God revealed, and this again is radically inconsistent with what he has revealed."

Quoting a passage from the "Apologia" he proceeds:—

"This seems to me a definite contention that the reason of man is naturally so restless, so disposed to devour its own offspring, as to need the bit and bridle of an infallible *human* authority in addition to the guidance of God's spirit. But is not that in a sense really putting man above God; or at least putting God's providence as revealed in human institutions, above God's spirit as revealed in conscience and reason? I should have supposed to a thinker with so passionate a belief in God as the deepest of all realities, the true security for the ultimate stability of our reason, for the ultimate subjection of our reason to the power and fascination of revelation, would have been simply this, that God after all sways our spirits, and draws them to himself……… It is, I think, profound pity for the restlessness and insatiability of human reason which has made him a Roman Catholic."

At this point Mr. Hutton goes on to analyse what he regards as Newman's 'error of the most serious kind,' and finally states what the drift of his best teaching is. The different points we simply mention.

"In the first place, though a great idealist—one of the greatest of idealists in this sense that for him all material things are symbols and all spiritual things the most vivid of realities—no one has pressed home upon us more powerfully, I might almost say more painfully the difference between an unreal state of mind, and a real state of mind, between unreal words and real words. . . . No utilitarian teacher has ever pressed home so sternly as Newman the need of *deeds* to give any real significance to words, or even to our feelings. . . . Again no one has laid to heart like Newman, and made us lay to heart also, the comparatively small influence of mere logic, and the vast influence of unconscious assumptions—intellectual, moral, and spiritual—over the whole history of our inward lives."

The *Nineteenth Century* for March contains an article by Professor Huxley, entitled 'The evolution of theology.' The object of the writer (who proposes to continue the subject in a second article) is to show that all theological speculation is a development by insensible gradations from a primitive belief in ghosts and their relation to the living world. For the purposes of illustration he selects the religion of Israel as being most familiar to his readers, and also, we may surmise, as possessing in the estimation of many of them a character of peculiar sacredness founded on the belief of its revelation by special Divine agency. With the Book of Judges and the two Books of Samuel as his sources, he undertakes to reconstruct the religious belief of the old Israelites rubbing off the crust of monotheism with which late editors have obscured its true lineaments. The result at which he arrives is summarised in sentences of which the following may be taken as an example:—

"They (the ancient records) reveal a firm conviction that when death takes place a something termed a soul or spirit, leaves the body and continues to exist in Sheol for a period of indefinite duration, even though there is no proof of any belief in absolute immortality; that such spirits can return to earth to possess and inspire the living; that they are in appearance and disposition, likenesses of the men to whom they belonged, but that, as spirits, they have larger powers and are freer from physical limitations; that they thus form one of a number of kinds of spiritual existences known as Elohim, of whom Jahveh, the national God of Israel, is one; that, consistently with this view, Jahveh was conceived as a sort of spirit, human in aspect and in senses, and with many human passions, but with immensely greater intelligence and power than any other Elohim whether human or divine."

It is needless to continue the extract. The sentence quoted is enough to recall to the minds of Biblical students the whole class of facts on which Professor Huxley bases his theory. They have been the accepted results of Biblical Theology for many years; and have been regarded by that science as relics of the primitive belief of the Hebrew peoples from which the true genius of the religion of Israel gradually disentangled itself, until in the prophets it asserted its character as a pure moral monotheism. But that they should be regarded as expressing the essence of old Israelitish faith is a reversal of fact which was hardly to be expected in one who professes to approach the study of Biblical religion in the spirit of scientific disinterestedness. What Professor Huxley proposes to do in his second article remains to be seen, but it may safely be predicted that he will experience no little difficulty in evolving the religion of the prophets from the featureless sketch that he offers as a statement of the religion of the early Israelites. With whatever admixture of idolatrous and superstitious elements, Jehovah was still the Almighty God of Israel, who lived in the history of the people, who identified himself with its national aspirations, and who above all shared in that passion for social righteousness, and that severity towards wrong-doing that were the leaven of the Hebrew commonwealth.

But more misleading even than the suppression of elements that are essential to a scientific comprehension of the development of Israelitic religion is the idea that underlies the whole article, that if a theology can be shown to have grown up on the basis of a few primitive religious beliefs, it must renounce any claim it may possess to be regarded as a divine revelation. Evolution is not a new idea in theology; and it has never yet been felt to be incompatible with faith in a divine guidance of the thoughts and beliefs of man. It may

be shown that the theology of Israel in its final form is the outcome of a process of slow evolution from comparatively simple elements. But that only makes us look deeper for the traces of the divine working. We see them no longer in the artificial communication of new truths from time to time, but in that wonderful providential dealing by which, first of all, the nation with its peculiar spiritual characteristics was called into existence; by which the national life was preserved, while the idea of Jehovah, the national God, was becoming welded with the idea of righteousness; by which, at a later time, when this identification had become complete, the national independence was destroyed and Jehovah, no longer felt as the helper of Israel, assumed in the eyes of the prophets a loftier figure, and became the God of the nations, working in righteousness, and punishing even Israel for its sin; by which finally this idea was preserved intact through long ages until one arose, who, nurtured in its atmosphere, gave it a yet higher development and sent it forth into the world a saving and a regenerating power.

Whatever the Old Testament religion may have developed from, it certainly developed into the religion of Christ; to those who believe that that religion is the power of God unto salvation, the history of Israel must always appear as a divinely ordained means for the regeneration of the world. The grounds for believing in the divine efficacy of Christianity stand or fall by themselves. They are certainly not affected by the sneer that escapes Professor Huxley, when, with a strange forgetfulness of the meaning of words, he defines religion as a storehouse of anaesthetics for the evils of life.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PICTORIAL LITERATURE.

To the Editor,

Christian College Magazine.

Dear Sir,

In the first number of your Magazine, you were pleased to notice favorably my Paper on "Home Education for Hindu Girls," and particularly the concluding parts of it in which I pointed out the great want of a Pictorial Literature for Girls' Schools and Native Homes; and you were good enough also to throw out a hint that I should myself show the way to give a practical effect to my suggestion. This spurred me on to practice what I preached; and after two or three failures, I have at last succeeded in bringing out No. I. of my "Home Series" in the shape of Picture Alphabets in Tamil and Telugu. Though these cost me considerable trouble and expense, yet I am glad to think that they will go to make the children of my country happy instead of their having to learn their letters with tears.

May I ask you to accept these Picture books, which though they may be a trifle with no great literary merit, are a novel contribution to the Vernacular Literature of this part of India (if not all India), and supply as Her Excellency Mrs. Grant Duff and other competent ladies and gentlemen have said, to the infant beginners out here what their brothers and sisters in England get so plentifully and in such great variety, at only 5 annas a copy, unlike, the English Alphabet Books which I cannot get in the Madras Book shops below 6 annas per copy, though the latter are printed by the million, and have fewer letters and need therefore fewer Illustrative pictures than the Vernacular Alphabet.

My object is not to make a profit, but to devote the sale proceeds of these books to the publication of other Pictorial Books for a "Home Library" in Tamil and Telugu especially, which may prove useful alike to Girls' Schools and for kindergarten instruction in Infant Schools, provided for in the new Grant-in-Aid Code.

The enforced leisure which I have had now for nearly a year, I have thought it right to devote to what is likely to instruct and amuse Native Families and Nurseries and shall be glad to hear that the "Home Series" I have started are as successful in other families as they have been in my own.

Hoping that the public favor which the accompanying Picture Alphabets will receive will be such as to enable me to bring out a larger and cheaper edition.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
V. KRISHNAMA CHARIAR.

P.S.—My limited means and opportunities in the matter of securing suitable Illustrations at small cost are in the way of rapid progress with the next 2 or 3 numbers of my "Home Series," but I shall do my best while I live, and certainly not despair. God arms the armless.

MADRAS, *9th March* 1886.

KOLKEI.

SIR,

In your notice of Professor McCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," you say "Thus in his description of 'the Kolchic Gulf where there is the Pearl fishery' *i.e.*, the Gulf of Manar, he speaks of an Emporium Kolkhoi. This is clearly seen to be Tuticorin, when we learn from Mr. McCrindle that the Tamil name for that town is Kolkei." Allow me to say that Kolkei and Tuticorin are not identical. You have fallen into the mistake of supposing that they are so, because at Tuticorin there is a pearl fishery now, and because you do not find any seaport town by the name of Kolkei in any of the modern maps. I do not think Tuticorin had any existence before the 16th century. The Portuguese chose that spot in preference to the ancient seaport of Tinnevelly which is situated near the mouth of the sacred river Tamravarni, as they found the sea receding at the latter place. Kolkei, on the other hand, is a place of great antiquity and historic importance. When the victorious Kshatrya colony, headed by the Pandya King who was connected with the Lunar Dynasty, came to South India, they were attracted by the remarkably clear waters of the Tamravarni and its fertile banks. At the place where its sacred waters flow into the Gulf of Manar, the Pandyas established their seat of Government about 1000 B. C. This place bore the name Korkei and hence the Pandya King had, in addition to numerous others, the title "Ruler of Korkei." About the same time, the well known Sage Agastya, the Cadmus of the South, and his disciples reached the Tamravarni and found a pleasant retreat in the Potya mountain where the river takes its source. Kolkei was not only the capital of the Pandya Kings but also a seaport town of great importance, which Ptolemy styles "Emporium Kolkhoi." In very early times, the gulf adjoining Kolkhoi was famous for its pearls. Allusion is made to this fact in the Raghuvamsa. The author of the Periplus also speaks of it. After the sea had retired from Kolkhoi, Kayal became the Emporium and it continued to be so when Marco Polo visited the place in 1292 A. D. Kayal too has shared the fate of Kolkei,* as it is nearly two miles inland now.

Some time after the Pandya kings had settled on the banks of the Tamrapurni, they probably added tracts of land further north to their territories. It was found, therefore, necessary to have a capital occupying a more central position. In consequence, they removed from Korkei in the south Pandya kingdom or the modern Tinnevelly District to a place called Manalur close by Madura. At the time Madura did not exist, but there was a dense forest on the spot where the town stands now. We have no means of ascertaining when the transfer of the seat of Government was effected, but it is certain that it took place before the Mahabaratha was written. In that great epic, Arjuna is represented as having married a daughter of one of the Pandya kings whose then capital was Manalur, (corrupted into Manipura). We may say that the change of capi-

* Kolkei is also euphonically pronounced Korkei. The latter form is oftener employed but some inscriptions use the word Kolkei.

tals was effected between the 5th and 2nd centuries B. C. Manalur was not destined to be the Pandya capital long, for a merchant, who lost his way in the adjoining forest found there the *lingam* of the God, which discovery he duly communicated to the king. The king ordered the forest to be cleared and a temple to be erected in honor of the God. Since that time, the place has been considered a very sacred place. It increased in size and importance to such an extent as to make the Pandya kings remove their seat of Government from Manalur. This sacred place was no other than the town of Madura, which Siva honored with his 64 sacred amusements, which for a long time was the capital of the Pandyas and which, even to the present day, has been celebrated for its temples and magnificent *Gopras*. It has another name *Koodal*, frequently to be met with in Tamil literature. In Tamil books written during or after the 8th century A. D. we find the word Korkei applied to Madura. It is difficult to say when Madura began to be known as Korkei for the first time. Kamba Nadan, the Prince of Tamil Poets, and his contemporaries make use of the word and the contexts clearly show that Madura is meant by Korkei and not the former capital of that name. In one of the five great Tamil classical poems, all the three words Madura, Koodal and Korkei are used in the same breath. Athi-Veera Rama Pandya, king and poet and author of *Nidatham*, the "Nectar of Poets," is styled "ruler of Korkei" and "descendant of Kulasekara" who was the founder of Madura. It is plain that Korkei and Madura are identical.

How came Madura to be known by the name Kolkei?—of course not the Kolkei of Ptolemy or the Periplus. The answer to this question cannot be given with certainty. I will venture to give an answer. It has been already pointed out that "Ruler of Korkei" was one of the titles of the Pandya kings as their first capital was the town of Korkei on the banks of the Tamravarni. They continued to be called by that title, though their capital was twice changed. Poets who wrote long after Madura had become the capital and who were ignorant of the origin of the title "Ruler of Korkei" probably confounded the words Madura and Korkei, and began to apply the latter word as synonymous with the former. Another explanation may be suggested. The word Kolkai may have meant "Seat of Government" and thus may have been applicable to the capital of the country, whatever it was. This view is favored by analysing the word into its component parts. It is composed of two words *Kol* or *Kol* and *Kai*. If the first part be *Kol*, it means *killing*—If it be *Kol* the meaning is *taking* or *receiving* or according to some authorities, *firm*. The second part *Kai* is capable of two meanings, *hand* or *place*. Putting both parts together we obtain the following meanings:—*Killing hand, place of slaughter, firm hand, receiving hand, firm place,* or *receiving place*. Whichever meaning we might please to adopt, we find one idea common to all these meanings, *viz*. that of government. Killing is associated with inflicting the extreme penalty of law. *Receiving* with collecting taxes. If *Kolkai* meant *Seat of Government* why was not the word applied to the capitals of the Chola and Sera countries? It seems probable therefore that the first explanation is the correct one. Perhaps some gentleman with an antiquarian turn of mind will throw light on the question.

ANTIQUARY.

[As our mistake in identifying Kolkoi with Tuticorin has been the cause of producing so interesting a letter, it can hardly be regretted that it has occurred. The same mistake seems to have been made in earlier times, for, according to Mr. McCrindle, Tuticorin appears in the Peutinger Tables as *Colcis Indorum* Mr. McCrindle rightly identifies Kolkhoi not with Tuticorin but with Kolkei, but at the same time he ascribes a greater age to Tuticorin than "Antiquary" seems prepared to allow it, for he finds in it the modern representative of the Sôsikourai of Ptolemy's lists.—EDITOR, *Christian College Magazine*.]